HISTORIC TOWNS

EDITED BY E. A. FREEMAN

AND W. HUNT

OXFORD

BY

C. W. BOASE

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HISTORIC TOWNS.

EDITED BY

E. A. FREEMAN and the REV. WILLIAM HUNT.

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Historic Towns

EDITED BY

EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L. & Rev. WILLIAM HUNT, M.A.

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Historic Towns

OXFORD

BY

CHARLES W. BOASE

Formerly Fellow of Exeter College

FIFTH IMPRESSION

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PREFACE.

'The University of Oxford,' says Mr. J. R. Green, 'is so far from being older than the City, that Oxford had already seen five centuries of borough life before a student appeared within its streets. The University found it a busy, prosperous borough, and reduced it to a cluster of lodging houses. It found it among the first of English municipalities, and it so utterly crushed its freedom that the recovery of some of the commonest rights of self-government has only been brought about by recent legislation. The story of the struggle which ended in this usurpation is one of the most interesting in our municipal annals, and it is one which has left its mark not on the town only but on the very constitution and character of the conquering University.'

Such is the argument of this book. The materials are large, and one can only acknowledge the utmost obligation to Wood and Hearne and, among modern writers, to Dr. E. A. Freeman's 'English Towns and

Districts,' Mr. J. R. Green's 'Early Oxford' and 'Oxford in the Eighteenth Century,' Mr. Andrew Lang's 'Oxford,' and Mr. Parker's 'Early Oxford,' as well as to other publications of the Oxford Historical Society. Part of the City records, from 1509 to 1583, were edited by Mr. W. H. Turner for the city in 1880, and we may hope that more of these valuable documents will be published. Mr. Turner also edited the 'Heraldic Visitations of Oxfordshire' for the Harleian Society. For the University archives, Anstey's 'Munimenta Academica' must be consulted; and the 'Abingdon Chronicle,' edited by Mr. Stevenson, contains much valuable matter.

In well-known and popular passages of these authors it has seemed best to employ their own words without alteration, but it has not been always possible to insert marks of quotation. Wood, in the Autobiography which he compiled from his Diaries, seems to antedate the use of terms, as when he speaks of Whigs in 1662, and calls a Jewish coffee-house keeper a Jacobite in 1654—unless, indeed, as the Jew came from Libanus, this means a Jacobite in the Eastern sense, *i.e.* a Monophysite. Evelyn, in like manner, rewrote his Diaries late in life; only in Pepys do we get the impression of each day in all its freshness. The legends about Oxford and about Alfred have been analysed so thoroughly by Mr. Parker, that the work will not need doing again. He has further allowed me to use his map of the early city; the other

map, taken from the northern side of the city, instead of the south, is adapted from Hollar. For the coinage Hawkins' 'Silver Coins of England' has been used; and for the guilds I have followed Bishop Stubbs, and added something from Mr. Charles Gross, and from Mr. J. Wilson's account of the Cordwainers in the 'Archæological Journal,' no. xxii., and would refer for fuller accounts to the chapter in Mr. Hunt's 'Bristol.' Mr. Kerslake of Bristol was the first to lay stress on the historical importance of the Mercian Saints.

The early history of Universities is now being discussed by Heinrich Denifle, on whose work, 'Die Universitäten des Mittelalters,' Mr. Rashdall has partly based his two articles on Paris and Oxford in the first volume of the 'Historical Review,' 1886, and in the 'Church Quarterly Review' for January, 1887; but Huber's book on the English Universities, translated by Frank Newman, is not yet wholly superseded. As to the later periods, Christopher Wordsworth's 'Social Life in the Universities' supplies much material for both City and University. His book, with those of J. Bass Mullinger and Willis-Clark on Cambridge, has for the present given our sister University the lead over us; but we may hope that Mr. Maxwell Lyte will continue his 'History of Oxford to 1530,' and help us to redress the balance. Meanwhile Dr. Brodrick's 'History of the University' supplies an interesting and popular narrative. There are also some good Guidebooks to Oxford,

such as those of Mr. Parker and Mr. Moore. For the period of Charles I. it would be wrong not to refer to Eliot Warburton's 'Reginald Hastings,' to 'John Inglesant,' and to Church's 'With the King at Oxford.'

For suggestions as to the revision of the text my best thanks are due to the Editors, to Mr. Madan, and to other friends; and I am further indebted to Mr. Madan for the use of many pamphlets.

As to the meaning of the name *Oxford* (which some derive from the Celtic word for *water* or *river*, viz., Uisg or Ouse), it may be noted that the early spelling of the name is always Oxnaford, where Oxna is the early English genitive plural, meaning 'of oxen.'

The history of the City has naturally been the first object; later on that of the University comes in—mainly in its relations to the City; the two became so closely connected that their annals almost blend into one, and it is more or less expedient to follow something like chronological order. It is not easy to compress the history of a thousand years into a small space, and much has necessarily been omitted or condensed. Every one, therefore, who is interested in some special part of the story will think that it is inadequately treated. But if justice has not been done to so fair a subject, La Fontaine's words may perhaps suggest an apology—

Il faut laisser
Dans les plus beaux sujets quelque chose à penser.

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OXFORD.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY OXFORD.

The year 912—The Castle-hill—St. Frideswide—Mercian Influence—Coinage—Domesday—Robert d'Oilgi—The Jewry.

In the year 912, says the English Chronicle, 'died Æthelred, ealdorman of the Mercians, and King Eadweard took to himself Lundenbyrg and Oxnaford and all the lands that were obedient thereto.' Eadweard thus held the valley of the Thames; for it was not only the cities, but their lands that he had taken, and these could hardly have been much other in extent than the present Middlesex and Oxfordshire. The Thames was already a waterway by which London could communicate with the heart of England, and towns such as Reading, Wallingford, Abingdon, and Oxford had arisen along its banks. The beech woods of the Chilterns might prevent much traffic by land, but boats passed easily along the river. It was while keeping watch over this frontier that Eadweard died in 925 at Farndon in Northants, and his son Ælfweard died soon after at Oxford.

The name of Oxford tells the story of its birth. At

a point where the Thames bends to the south, round the headland of Wytham, and just before its waters are swollen by those of the Cherwell, a wide reach of the river offered a ford where cattle-drovers could cross the stream, and traversing the marshy fields which edged it, mount the low slope of a gravel spit between the two rivers, that formed the site of the later city. In the windings of the streams that form the Thames the channels often pass through marshy and reedy clays, with failing banks and no secure bottom. For the wain bearing salt, for horses and men, for sheep and oxen, these were no fit passing places, however small the stream. Fords then had to be sought where firm rock made a solid floor, or hard gravel offered equal security. Thus at Oxford the gravelly bed of the valley, not only at Folly Bridge, but also near Hincksey and Binsey, presented the natural condition which was desired. A *ford* did not imply merely a place where the water was shallow, but where there was a firm road through the stream, by which men might *fare* across safely. A name of exactly similar meaning—Hrythera ford, that is, cattle-ford—occurs in an Abingdon charter; names with *rother* such as Rotherhithe are still common.

It is near Oxford too that the upland streams of the Thames converge. In its course across England the river receives many tributaries, such as the Evenlode, the Windrush, the Lech, the Colne, and the Churn; while the Cherwell opens up a large district to the north, as it descends from the high lands which send off the Avon to the west, the Nene, Welland, and Ouse to the east.

That Oxford was already important before 912 is shown by its being coupled with London as necessary

to secure the obedience of Mercia or Middle England. It was probably one of the places fortified by the English about this time, in order to guard the rivers by which the Danes so often made their way into the heart of the country. The Danes had burnt Abingdon, and much fighting had taken place in Alfred's days on the Ashdown ridge of Berkshire, opposite Oxford. This view is confirmed by our finding that in the next year, 913, Alfred's daughter, Æthelflæd, the Lady of the Mercians, 'timbered Tameweorthe and eke Staffordaburh. King Eadweard bade to timber the north burh at Heortford between the Maran and the Beane and the Lea.' The *ford of oxen* and the *ford of harts* both marked important passages across the rivers. The Castle hill on the west side of Oxford probably dates from this period; for, if we compare the other places fortified at the time, most of them at or near the frontier of Mercia, the one common feature is a conical mound of earth. The castles nearest to Oxford, such as Tamworth and Warwick, overlooking the Tame and Avon, have mounds very similar to that at Oxford. Probably a wooden fortress, guarded by palisades, was erected on the mound. The very situation of Oxford too made it almost a natural stronghold, since it only needed to dig out a ditch on the northern side, somewhere near the line afterwards occupied by the northern wall of the city, to make the gravel ridge between the Thames and Cherwell into an island, protected by the many streams into which the rivers divide; while the earth thrown up from the ditch would provide material for the mound. The gravel island among the swamps was just the place where the English would cluster together in the

desperate defence against the Norse pirates, especially if a settlement already existed there.

No remains of British or Roman times can be traced on the site of Oxford. The nearest Roman road ran some way to the eastward, from the junction of the Thame at Dorchester, due north, near Shotover, to Alchester and Bicester, as the Romans carried their roads along the high ground in order to secure the military command of the country and avoid the undrained valleys.

There was certainly then an English settlement on the site of Oxford even before 912. The entry in the Chronicle implies that the place was already a stronghold guarding the frontier of Mercia, and that it was the central city of a district.

And if the legendary story of St. Frideswide (whose death is assigned to the year 735) can be trusted, a nunnery may have already been founded here in the eighth century. The history of our early saints favours this view. Penda, the pagan king of Mercia, had welded Middle England into one kingdom. For a moment his defeat by Oswiu of Northumbria broke the Mercian power, but Wulfhere (657–675) soon restored it, got down to the western sea at Chester, beat the men of Wessex in 661, and ravaged all as far as Ashdown in Berkshire. Essex and London, Surrey and Sussex, submitted; and Kent, though still independent, lay helpless in the grasp of the Mercian king. Wini, bishop of Winchester, bought the bishopric of London from him. He had thus obtained the great outlets to both seas for the commerce of Middle England, and the readiest means of communication with the Continent.

All this facilitated Archbishop Theodore's reorganisation of the Church, and, according to Florence of Worcester, Dorchester, just south of Oxford, and on the same bank of the river, became a see of the *South Angles* in 679; which seems to imply that Oxfordshire was already Anglian—i.e. Mercian—and no longer adhered to Wessex. The progress of the new power is marked by the churches dedicated to the female saints of Mercia. Thus St. Werburh, Wulfhere's daughter by a Kentish princess, had churches at Chester and Bristol, and in Kent, and even at Warbstow in Cornwall. Several granddaughters of Penda were saints, including St. Mildred, who had churches in Oxford, London and Canterbury, and at Minster in the Isle of Thanet. There is no improbability therefore about a Mercian St. Frideswide founding a nunnery at Oxford. The people's gratitude for good deeds, or reverence for a holy life, has canonized and handed down names to us of which we have no further information.

The dedications of the churches are mostly of an early character, and two of them bear the names of Celtic saints, St. Aldate and St. Budoc; but we have no further help towards inferring any previous Celtic influence on the place. The Mercian kings were closely allied with the Celts. Mercia had been converted by Celtic missionaries, and Æthelbald even made several gifts to Glastonbury, the first Celtic church spared by the English conquerors, where many Celtic traditions survived. Budoc was a Breton saint, to whom churches were dedicated both in Cornwall and Devon. Moreover relics existed at Abingdon of other Breton saints, such as Winwolaus and Judocus and Samson, as well as of

St. Columba; and there is mention of Celts (*Gallorum et Brittonum*) living at Abingdon in a charter of 835, attributed to Egbert. Physiologists say that Oxfordshire and Berks still contain many of the dark-haired race which has been identified with part of the Celtic population.

The prosperity of Mercia increased during Æthelbald's reign of forty years (716–57), and to him is due the first genuine group of charters that has survived, one of them being probably the first charter in English.

The monastery of Abingdon, founded on the other side of the river by the kings of Wessex about 675, claimed to have a charter from him to confirm previous grants of its possessions. These formed a belt round Oxford on the southern and western sides, extending to the river itself, and were so large that Abingdon overshadowed all the little foundations, such as St. Frideswide's. The Mercian kings, when they were trying to secure the whole course of the river, with the passages over it that led into Wessex, may well have thought Oxford an important post to occupy as it lies in the gap which leads between the hills from the plain of Banbury northward to the plain of Didcot on the south, and a road (afterwards called the Port Street or Town Road) probably ran through the gap along the gravel ridge, and, skirting St. Frideswide's on its western side, came down to the ford near Folly Bridge. The legend of St. Frideswide implies that the place was ruled by a Mercian underking of its own; and we might be inclined to assign the first settlements here to the reign of Wulfhere, or of Ethel-

bald, who in 736 expressly calls himself 'King of the Mercians and the Southangles.'

Offa (757–96) became the greatest king of his day in England, beat the men of Wessex at Bensington, near Oxford, in 779, and took Abingdon. A coin was found, in digging the foundation of the Martyrs' Memorial at Oxford, which had on it *Ienberht Arep.* (of Canterbury), and on the reverse *Offa rex.* Of all the English kingdoms Mercia affords the greatest number of coins, and the most uninterrupted series. To it apparently belong the early *sceattas* with Runic inscriptions, and the large, thin silver penny dates from Offa; it shows designs corresponding to those in English illuminated manuscripts.

This supremacy of Mercia had lasting effects, and it was further strengthened by the Danish immigration. The modern English language is based on that of the East Midlands, and not on the literary language of Alfred's time, which was properly the dialect of Wessex. Mercian words have largely superseded the Saxon; thus we say *plough*, *boy*, *girl*, *dog*, where Alfred would have used sulh (still the word in Somerset), knave, maiden, hound. The midland *I*, *She*, *They* have replaced the southern *Ich*, *Heo*, *Hi*. In the system of measurement too the Mercian acre has superseded the Saxon *longacre*, which was half as large again. Even after Egbert's dynasty had given the supremacy to Wessex, Mercia under its earls retained an influence which Godwine and Harold were powerless to overthrow.

The importance of Oxford then consisted always in its being the frontier city of Mercia, and its growth

was in the natural course of things, arising from its command of the through route into the south by the ford and of the traffic along the river. The main road running from north to south was, later on, crossed at right angles by the line of the present High Street, which was probably continued over Shotover, and so connected Oxford with Thame and Uxbridge. Thus the four quarters of the city would gradually grow up as they are at present. The first parish church of which we have any clear account was St. Martin's, at the meeting of these cross-roads (afterwards called Carfax—*the four ways*), at the highest point on the gravel bank; and it became the nucleus round which the other parishes were formed. It is still the city church; and there is evidence that the Portmannimot, or town council, was held in the churchyard. Justice was, later on, administered by mayor and bailiffs, sitting beneath the low shed—the 'penniless bench' of later times—without its eastern wall. Its bell summoned the burghers to counsel or to arms.

But though the city was already important, yet 'if any man had stood in the days of Eadweard on the hill that was not yet *Shotover*, and had looked along the plain to the place where the grey spires of Oxford are clustered now, as it were in a purple cup of the low hills, he would have seen little but "the smoke floating up through the oak-wood and the coppice." The low hills were not yet cleared, nor the fens and the wolds trimmed and enclosed. Centuries later, when the early students came, they had to ride through the thick forest and across the moor to the East Gate of the city. In the midst of a country still wild, Oxford was already

no mean city; but the place where the hostile races of the land met to settle their differences, to feast together and forget their wrongs over the mead and ale, or to devise treacherous murder, and close the banquet with fire and sword.'

In the eleventh century important national assemblies were held at Oxford. When a meeting was designed to be specially national, when some solemn act was to be gone through which affected northern and southern England alike, Oxford was the place which was commonly chosen. Its position on the border stream of Wessex and Mercia suited such a purpose admirably. It was at Oxford that the Gemót was held, after the restoration of Æthelred, in 1015, at which the thanes of the five Danish boroughs, Sigeferth and Morkere, were slain by the traitorous Mercian earl Eadric. To this meeting a tale has been transferred, which seems really to belong to the massacre of St. Brice's day in 1002. It is on that day of slaughter that we get our first glimpse of the minster of St. Frideswide, for some of the Danes fled to the tower of the church, which was burnt to dislodge them. No doubt the feeling in Oxford was strong against the pirates, who had burnt the city in 979. They burnt it again in 1002 and in 1010, but of course the wooden houses were rapidly rebuilt. In 1010, 'in the month of January, the army of the Danes [under Thurkill], leaving their ships, go to Oxford through the woods of Chiltern, and sack the town and set it on fire, and so in going back they carry on their ravages on both sides of the Thames.' And in 1013, 'after Swegen came over Wætling Street they wrought the most evil that any

army could do. He then went to Oxford, and the townsmen immediately submitted and gave hostages; and thence to Winchester, and they did the same.' It was burnt once more in 1032.

Again the great meeting of the early days of Cnut, 1020, in which English and Danes were reconciled, when both agreed to renew the laws of Eadgar, was held at Oxford. There, too, was that other great meeting held, in 1036, in which the claims of the sons of Cnut to the crown were discussed, and when the kingdom was again divided. 'King Cnut died at Shaftesbury, . . . and soon after his death there was a meeting of all the wise men at Oxford; and Earl Leofric, and almost all the thanes north of Thames, and the lithsmen [sailors] of London chose Harold to the government of all England, him and his brother Hardacnut, who was in Denmark. And Earl Godwine and all the chief men of Wessex were against it as long as they could, but they could not prevail aught against it.' Here the Mercian earl Leofric decides the question at Oxford with the support of London. Wessex and Winchester cannot oppose him. Oxford seems to have ranked as the capital of the first Harold; it was at least the place of his coronation and of his death. Once more Oxford was the seat of that great, though irregular, meeting of 1065, in which the claims of the Northumbrian insurgents and of the Mercian earls were finally granted—that is, when Wessex once more gave way to Mercia, and when the law of Cnut was restored, as the law of Eadgar had been under Cnut himself.

In the charters of the time Oxford does not occur until the reign of Æthelred, and even then the charter

of 1004, which mentions the burning of the Danes, is doubtful. But a charter of Cnut in 1032 speaks of his giving 'a little minster consecrated in honour of St. Martin the bishop, with the adjacent land in the city well known under the name of Oxnaford, to the use of the monks at the place called Abbandun.' The existence of a Hustings court at Oxford, as at York, Lincoln, and London, seems to imply a Danish element in the population, as does the name of an old church, Danesbourn, near one of the cross streams below South Gate; while the mention of some Danish names of citizens in Domesday leads to the same conclusion.

Some of Alfred's coins may be due to the Oxford mint. No such coins have been found in Oxford itself or anywhere in South England; they occur in the great find of treasure trove at Cuerdale, near the Ribble, in Lancashire, in 1840, as well as in an earlier Lancashire find, in 1611; but coins are often found far from their mints in those times of plunder, and there are Lincoln coins also in the finds. The name has been variously read, Oksnaforda or Orsnaforda, with Alfred's name in the centre, and the two halves of Oksna-forda separately above and below, in this fashion :—

OKSNA
ÆLFRED
FORDA.

The moneyer's name on the reverse, 'Bernwald,' is equally in two divisions, with three crosses between; it is a name which also occurs on Kentish coins.

Now on Athelstan's coins we read Oc or Ox; on one of Edmund's the single letter O; on Cnut's Ocxen; and on Harold I.'s Ocxe. Harthacnut has the name

as Oxana, the Confessor and Harold II. as Ocxenefo. The name is never elsewhere spelt Oks, and the full form Oxnaforda never occurs except on these pennies of Alfred. The evidence then for connecting them with Oxford is not strong, but some good numismatists think they belong to that city, and as Alfred was its overlord, coins bearing his name may have been minted there more easily than at Lincoln. We have a parallel case in a Lincoln coin (also found at Cuerdale) which reads LIN—COLLA, in two halves, with a name between. The lettering on both the Oxford and Lincoln coins is blundered, and it is possible that they were both struck under the influence of Danes, who used full names instead of short forms; and if Danes were already settled in Oxford, this would still further illustrate Eadweard's policy in securing the place. The date of the Cuerdale deposit, about 905, would suit the time at which Oxford probably took a more important position than before.

Two tenants of Abingdon, Godric of Fifhide and Thurkill of Kingston, an Englishman and a Dane, fell by the side of Harold at Senlac, but Wace does not mention Oxfordshire among the counties that sent men to fight against the Normans. Let us hope that some of the twenty burgesses bound to serve the king in war were among the 'many others' whom Wace says he could not specially name.

It is far from clear at what moment of the gradual conquest of England Oxford came into the hands of the Conqueror; but, as Edwin the Earl of Mercia submitted, Oxford probably submitted with its earl. Few towns suffered more, whether from a capture by storm (of which there is no trace) or through the oppression of

William's officers; or it may be in the troubled times, not long before the Conquest, in 1065.

The Domesday survey of Oxfordshire was carried out by the same commissioners as those for Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and Staffordshire. The account of Oxford runs thus :—

'In the time of King Edward Oxeneford paid for toll and gable and all other customs yearly—to the king twenty pounds, and six measures of honey, and to Earl Algar ten pounds, besides his mill within the *city*. When the king went out to war, twenty burgesses went with him in lieu of the rest, or they gave twenty pounds to the king that all might be free. Now Oxeneford pays sixty pounds at twenty-pence to the ounce. In the town itself, inside and outside the wall, there are 243 houses that pay geld, and besides them there are 478 houses unoccupied and ruined so that they can pay no geld. The king has twenty wall mansions, which were Earl Algar's in the time of King Edward, paying both then and now fourteen shillings less twopence; and one mansion paying sixpence, belonging to Shipton; another paying fourpence, belonging to Bloxham; a third paying thirty pence, belonging to Risborough; and two others paying fourpence, belonging to Twyford in Buckinghamshire; one of these is unoccupied. They are called wall mansions because, if there is need and the king command it, they shall repair the wall. . . . All the burgesses of Oxeneford hold in common a pasture outside the wall that brings in six shillings and eightpence . . . If any stranger who chooses to live in Oxeneford, and has a house, dies there without relatives, the king has all that he leaves.'

The mention of the toll shows that Oxford was a market town, and it was still more dignified in being a city. There was much jealousy about markets being too near each other. Bracton says no market was to have been within six miles and a half, and the third part of another half mile, of another. Stephen granted one to the monks of Eynsham, there was one at Charlbury, and Henry II. gave a Tuesday market to Woodstock. But Henry's grant of a market to Abingdon was still more alarming, as Abingdon was a more dangerous rival, and both Oxford and Wallingford appealed against it. But Oxford soon outgrew all rivalry. The mills were important; for mill value means population quite as much as water-power, and tenants were fined who did not bring their corn to be ground at their lords' mill. Port Meadow, the 'pasture outside the wall,' comprises about 440 acres, and stretches along the upper river to Godstow. Only the freemen might turn out cattle on the meadow. It was sometimes encroached on, and in 7 Henry VII. we find an inquisition as to a trespass on it, which contains the names of many husbandmen accused of taking part in the riot. But the city always kept it, even from Robert d'Oilgi, while at Cambridge the Norman sheriff robbed the townsmen of their folkland.

We further find under Oxfordshire, 'Robert d'Oilgi has in Oxford forty-two inhabited houses as well within as without the wall. Of these sixteen pay geld and gable, the rest pay neither on account of poverty; and he has eight mansions unoccupied, and thirty acres of meadow near the wall, and a mill of ten shillings. The whole is worth three pounds, and for one manor held

with the benefice of St. Peter. . . . The church of St. Peter of Oxeneford holds of Robert two hides in Haliwelle. Land one carucate (*ploughland*). There is one plough team and a half, and twenty-three men have small gardens. There are forty acres of meadow. It was worth twenty shillings, now it is worth forty. This land has not paid geld or rendered any dues.' Geld means *tax*, gable *rent*. The pound was a pound weight of silver. The only coins were silver pennies. There being one plough-team and a half shows that there was more arable land than usual.

Of occupied houses the king held 25, Earls Alberic and William 12, ecclesiastical owners 115, seventeen chief tenants 83, thirty-seven under-tenants or citizens 62, and Robert d'Oilgi had 42. We do not know to whom the remaining eleven inhabited houses belonged. Not a few houses were connected with neighbouring manors, whose owners had to attend the judicial courts held in the city—in fact, the chief men of the county had their town mansions. The total population can hardly have reached one thousand, and this tells us how much Oxford had suffered. Before the Conquest it was already a large town, for it had 721 houses; while York and Lincoln had 1,036 and 1,150 respectively. Domesday shows that the burgesses in all England (London and Winchester are not included) had been reduced from 17,105 to 7,968. It was part of the heavy price paid for the Norman rule.

Certain houses in Oxford are referred to in a grant of William Rufus, 1090, confirming his father's grant of Eynsham Abbey with its appendages, which include the church of St. Ebba in Oxinefort, and the land

adjoining, and two mills, with all customs. The charter of Henry I., in 1109, which confirms the grant, adds, 'William Fitz Nigel gave one house at Oxford. Harding of Oxford, who went to Jerusalem and died there, gave two houses in Oxford, one within and one without the borough. Gillebert de Damari gave one house without the borough, except the customary payment to the king.' Harding may be the citizen of that name who is mentioned in Domesday as holding nine houses in conjunction with Leveva (perhaps an abbess); and it was in the house of Harding the priest that a court was held in 1111 to settle a dispute about the annual payment of one hundred herrings due from every Oxford boat that used the new channel of the Thames, cut by Ordric, abbot of Abingdon, about 1060; when 'pleadings respecting this matter were instituted in Oxford in the house of Harding the priest, and by the common decree of the authorities (*majorum*) of the place it was adjudged in favour of the church of Abingdon.' Perhaps Harding in his old age joined the First Crusade, and was present at the capture of Jerusalem in 1099.

It will be noticed that some of the houses are without the wall, that is partly in Holywell, and partly in the new district near the castle. Robert d'Oilgi's sworn brother-in-arms, Roger of Ivri, held fifteen houses in Oxford, and four hides in the manor of Walton, which reached down to the river, since it included a fishery of the value of sixteen pence, and six acres of meadow. He also held the neighbouring manor of Ulfgarcote [Wolvercot], consisting of five hides.

But the most important name is that of Robert

d'Oilgi himself, for it is certain that in 1071 he began to build the castle. He had been amply provided for by William, chiefly through a marriage with Ealdgyth, one of the daughters and heiresses of Wiggod of Wallingford, who had been cupbearer to Edward the Confessor, and was one of the few Englishmen that contrived to keep wealth and rank under William. Robert and his family have left their mark on Oxford, civic and military, to this day. In 1074 Robert, with his wife and his friend Roger, began the foundation of the church of St. George in the Castle. The upper structure has perished, but the crypt of the original work still survives, though it has been partly reconstructed. It is interesting to read the accounts of Robert in the local history of Abingdon. We hear there of his early enormities, how he robbed rich and poor, and specially the Abbey of Abingdon; but how sickness, and visions, and the influence of his English wife, brought him to a better mind; and how his latter days were spent as a benefactor of the Church, and a doer of good deeds of every kind.

'Oxfordshire had been committed by the Conqueror to his charge, and he seems to have ruled it in rude soldierly fashion, enforcing order, tripling the taxation of the town, and pillaging without scruple the religious houses of the neighbourhood. It was only by ruthless exactions such as these that the work which William had set him to do could be done. Money was needed above all for the great fortress which held the town. The new castle rose on the eastern bank of the Thames, here broken into a number of small streamlets, one of which served as the deep moat that encircled its

walls. A well marked the centre of the wide castle-court; to the north of it, on a lofty mound, rose the great keep; to the west, the one tower which remains, the tower of St. George, looked down on the river and the mill. Without the walls of the fortress lay the Bailly, a space cleared by the policy of the castellan; the church of St. Peter le Bailly still marks its extent.' The neighbouring landowners had to send men to form part of the garrison, as we see in the case of the abbey of Abingdon; just as at Wallingford and Windsor, which shared with Oxford the duty of guarding the Thames.

'The hand of Robert d'Oilgi fell as heavily on the Church as it did on the townsmen. Outside the town lay a meadow belonging to the Abbey of Abingdon, suitable for the exercise of the soldiers. Robert had already wiled away a fine manor at Tadmerton from Abbot Athelm, but his seizure of the meadow drove the monks to despair. They invoked the help of St. Mary before her altar, dedicated by Dunstan and Ethelwold, the two English saints of whose names their house was proud. Meanwhile Robert had fallen sick, and dreamt a dream. He stood in a palace of some great king, and before a glorious woman on a throne knelt two of the monks whose names he knew, and they said, "Lady, this is he who seizes the lands of your church." She bade him be thrust out and led to the meadow he had taken. And two youths made him sit down there, and a number of vile boys piled burning hay round him, some tossed haybands in his face, and others set his beard on fire. His wife, seeing he was sleeping heavily, woke him up, and in a few days she made him take

boat to Abingdon and give back the land. Besides this he set about restoring the ruined churches of Oxford. The tower of St. Michael, the doorway of St. Ebbe, the chancel arch of Holywell, the crypt and chancel of St. Peter in the East, are fragments of the work done by Robert and his house. Among his good deeds is specially reckoned the building of Hithe Bridge, on the north side of Oxford. The present tower of St. Michael's is a part of one of his buildings or restorations. It formed part of the fortification of the town, at the north gate, and its air was rather military than ecclesiastical, as it probably projected from the north side of the rampart. Its type, as in many of the smaller buildings of William's reign, is distinctly of the Primitive, and not of the Norman, Romanesque. It represents the architecture of the close of the eleventh century, before the long-and-short work at the angles, with the rest built of rubble, gave way to the finer mode of building with surface ashlar masonry throughout. It is a parallel in the eleventh century to the tower of New College in the fourteenth; their position as forming part of a line of defence has stamped upon them their peculiar character.'

Domesday describes the priests of St. Michael's as owning two mansions, which paid fifty-two pence, and probably the church existed before the Conquest. Domesday merely gives the particulars necessary for taxation, and only mentions churches incidentally; so that it is exceptional to have so many as four churches noticed in one town, as we have at Oxford—St. Mary, St. Michael, St. Ebbe, and St. Peter. From the cartularies of Abingdon, Oseney, and St. Frideswide

we get four more names—St. Martin, St. George, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Frideswide itself. Even this is probably not a complete list of the churches then existing. For a charter attributed to Henry I., in enumerating all the churches in which St. Frideswide held any rights, mentions All Saints, St. Mildred, St. Peter in the Castle, St. Michael, the moiety of the church of St. Aldate, St. Michael (at South Gate), St. Edward, the chapel of the Holy Trinity over the East Gate, and St. Clement—which gives us eight more names. St. Clement's stood in the middle of the eastern road out of Oxford, as St. Mary Magdalen stood in the middle of the northern road outside the North Gate; but St. Clement's was cleared away in 1827 and a new church erected in the meadows by the Cherwell, near the Marston road.

There were four churches near to the four gates, the two St. Michaels by the North and South Gates, the two St. Peters by the East and West. The southern St. Michael's stood where the Hebrew Professor's lodgings in Christ Church now are, for the church was pulled down by Wolsey when founding his college.

The next century saw a still greater work arise at the hands of the D'Oilgi family. This was the Priory, and afterwards Abbey, of Oseney, a little way out of the town, on an 'island in the Ouse'—if that is the meaning of Oseney, and if Ouse was once a name for part of the Thames, as has been conjectured.

But as Osanlea occurs in the Abingdon Chronicle, Oseney may have been named from an early owner, Osa. There are many similar names for islands in that chronicle, such as Bottaney, Cytaney, Purtaney,

Utaney; and Hengestesey, or Hincksey, near Oxford itself, is probably named from a Hengest. There is no trace of the name Ouse; and the modern form, Isis, seems to come from a false etymology, as if Tamesis were a compound of Thame and Isis. Nor is it likely that one island out of many in the river would have been called *Ouse-island*, as if it was the only one.

This is the story of the foundation of Oseney:— Robert and his English wife were childless, but in the next generation the castle was held by his nephew, the second Robert, whom we find married to a wife bearing the English name of Edith. She had been one of the mistresses of Henry I., and had borne him a son Robert, who played a part in the wars of his half-sister, the empress, but who must be carefully distinguished from his more famous brother, Robert, Earl of Gloucester. Once on a time Edith heard some magpies chattering on a tree by the side of the river, and asked Ralph, her confessor, who knew the language of birds, what it meant. He told her that the pies were no other than souls in purgatory, thus paying part of their allotted penalty. No work could better profit the lady's soul than the foundation of a monastery where they might be prayed for. 'And is it so?' said the lady; 'then if my husband will grant my request, I will endeavour to bring these poor souls to rest.' So Edith hearkened to Ralph, and her husband hearkened to Edith, and in their joint names a house of Austin Canons arose on the island meadows beyond the castle, and Ralph became the first prior. This was in 1129. The second prior grew into an abbot. He bore the name of Wiggod, clearly pointing to the keeping up of a connexion in

the Oilgi family with the nation and blood of the father-in-law of its founder. The Bishop of Lincoln, about 1150, translated the *seculars* of St. George to this place, but afterwards *regular* canons were introduced in their stead. Oseney was rebuilt in 1247, and the Legate proclaimed an indulgence of forty days to all who would give towards the building. It was very large, and had two lofty towers. The seven bells in the western tower were the finest in England; they are still the 'bonny Christ Church bells,' and one of them is the famous Great Tom, though it was recast in 1680. The names of the bells were recorded in a rude hexameter

'Hautclere, Douce, Clement, Austyn, Marie, Gabriel, et John.'

The great bell weighed seventeen thousand pounds, and bore the inscription, *In Thomæ laude resono Bim Bom sine fraude.* Now it is 'Magnus Thomas Clusius Oxoniensis renatus April 8, 1680.' The church itself, under Henry VIII., became for a moment the cathedral of a new diocese, when the unwieldy diocese of Lincoln (in which Oxford had been included during the middle ages) was subdivided. Ela, countess of Warwick, great-granddaughter of Fair Rosamond, was buried here. Agas' map of 1566 represents much of Oseney as still standing, though unroofed; and there is a glass painting of it in the first window of the south choir aisle of Christ Church. There had been elm walks on the south side of the church, with dove-houses and fishponds. The abbot's chamber and the great stone staircase were still standing in 1718. Now nothing remains but a small outbuilding.

It was soon after the Conquest too that the Jews

settled in Oxford, and occupied a considerable quarter, known as the Great and Little Jewry. They probably came up the river from a previous settlement at Wallingford, and their tenements extended along Fish Street to the present Great Gate of Christ Church, with a large compass of ground behind, along the north side of the great Quadrangle, and the south side of Peckwater, and further east—with St. Edward's Church in the centre of their buildings. The earliest stone houses were probably due to them, just as at Lincoln; and at Oxford nearly all the larger houses, which were afterwards converted into halls, bore traces of Jewish origin in their names, such as Moysey's, Lombard's, and Jacob's Hall. The Guildhall itself was owned, in Henry III.'s time, by Moses the son of Isaac, from whom it is supposed to have come to the king by escheat, and he gave it to the citizens by his charter of February 18, 122$\frac{8}{9}$. The Jews had no rights of citizenship in England; they were the king's chattels, and he allowed them to fleece his people that he might fleece them in turn. But he protected them against any other oppressor. The city bailiffs had no power over them; the Church could not prevent their building a synagogue in Fish Street on land obtained from the canons of St. Frideswide's by Copyn, a Jew of Worcester. When, in 1236, a Jewish child, that had been converted and baptized, was forcibly recovered by the Jews, and complaint was made of it, the Jews were for a time imprisoned in the castle, but set free by the king's order directed to the constable of the castle. At first all Jews had to be taken to London for burial, but they soon obtained leave to have burial-places nearer at

hand; and at Oxford, in 1177, they had a cemetery without the East Gate, where the tower and south side of Magdalen now stand; afterwards this was transferred to the opposite side of the road, in the present Botanic Gardens, where a mass of human bones was dug up in 1642. At Canon Hall there were Preaching Friars, sent to convert the Jews; and Henry III. himself established a *House of Converts* next to the Guildhall; some of the rent, however, went to his other House of Converts in Chancery Lane, London. Sometimes the conversions were the other way. In 1222 a deacon was accused of having circumcised himself for the affection he had to a Jewish woman. He was degraded, committed to the secular power, and burnt by the servants of the sheriff, Falkes de Breauté—the Falkes whose palace in London gave name to the present Vauxhall. Above the synagogue in Fish Street the Blue Boar Inn was an old Jewish dwelling which Henry also gave to the House of Converts in London.

The Jews at Oxford imprudently relied somewhat too much on the king's favour. Philip, prior of St. Frideswide's (1180–88), complains of a Jew called *Deus-eum-crescat* (in French, Dieulecresse, a translation of the Hebrew name Gedaliah), son of Mossey, the Jew of Wallingford, who stood at his door as the procession of the saint passed by, mocking at the miracles wrought at her shrine. 'Halting and then walking firmly on his feet, showing his hands clenched as if with palsy and then flinging open his fingers, he claimed gifts and oblations from the crowd who flocked to St. Frideswide's, on the ground that such recoveries of limb and strength were quite as real as any Frides-

wide had wrought. But though in the prior's story (and we may perhaps doubt the prior's authority) sickness and death avenged the insult to the shrine, no earthly power, ecclesiastical or civil, ventured to meddle with Deus-eum-crescat.' The name occurs in the first Pipe Roll of Richard I.—'Benedictus and Joscius and Dieulecreisse, Jews, sons of Beniamin, owe two marks of gold for having their reasonable part of their father's debts and chattels.' 'The feud between the Priory and the Jewry went on for a century more, till it culminated in a daring act of fanaticism on Ascension Day 1268. As the usual procession of scholars and citizens returned from St. Frideswide's, a Jew suddenly burst from the group of his friends in front of the synagogue, and snatching the crucifix from its bearer, trod it underfoot. But even in presence of such an outrage the terror of the Crown shielded the Jewry from any burst of popular indignation. The king condemned the Jews of Oxford to make a heavy silver crucifix for the university to carry in the processions, and to erect a cross of marble on the spot where the crime was committed; but even this was in part remitted, and a less offensive place was allotted for the cross in an open plot by Merton College.'

The Jews were the capitalists of the middle ages; it was their loans that enabled castle and abbey and cathedral to be built or restored. The bonds of many a great baron, the relics of many an abbey, lay pledged for security in the chamber where the Jewish *shtars* or bonds were kept, under the royal seal. Magdalen still possesses a *shtar* in Hebrew, dated 1243, connected with property at Thornborough in Bucks,

and a deed dated 1252 about property in Oxford, to which a seal, with the figure of apparently a goose on it, was attached by a Jewess named Mildegoda. The indistinctness of representation is probably intentional, something of a blot or mark to cause indistinctness being requisite (in accordance with rabbinical teaching) to render any such representation lawful. Magdalen also has an acknowledgment by William the Cooper that he 'owes Isaac, son of Mossei, of Winchester, 20 shillings sterling of the new money, which he had as a loan at Epiphany last, for which he is to render yearly one marc. If these terms are not kept he shall pay three halfpence a week for each half marc; and thus from year to year as long as he holds the loan at the will of the lender; and he pledges as security all his lands within and without the city of Oxford.' As the marc was two-thirds of a pound, Isaac, son of Mossei, was receiving over 60 per cent. interest. In 1279 the poor Oxford scholars had pawned so many of their books to the Jews that they could not go on with their studies, and were obliged to apply to the king for his assistance to get them restored. The king answered, 'As to the books pledged at Oxford, we will that no judgment be given until All Saints' Day.'

But the Jews did more for Oxford than lend money or build stone houses, for with the Jewish settlement began the cultivation of physical science. Some students could learn Hebrew; and the Hebrew books which he found among the Rabbis were the means by which Roger Bacon penetrated to the older world of research. 'A medical school which we find established

in the twelfth century can hardly have been other than Jewish; and in the operation for the stone, which one of the stories in the "Miracles of St. Frideswide" preserves for us, we trace the traditional surgery still common in the East.'

At last, in 1290 Edward I. banished all Jews from the kingdom, and the expulsion was carried out with peculiar atrocity. Their return after nearly 400 years was due to the tolerance of Cromwell.

CHAPTER II.

GROWTH OF THE CITY.

Oxford under Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II.—The Guilds—The Municipality and its Officers—Watch and Ward—Description of the City.

UNDER Henry I. Oxford came into closer connexion with royalty. Henry had visited Abingdon in 1084, had been at Oxford about 1107, and by 1130 had completed the building of a palace at Beaumont, without the north gate of Oxford, which became a favourite resort of our kings, and of which some traces survived down to 1830. The gardens were bounded by a bowling-green, on which now stands the cattle market; on the space between this and the fortifications were irregular hedges on uneven ground, and the name is still 'Broken Heyes.' Henry kept the Easter of 1133 in his 'new hall' at Oxford. About 1114 he had built a hunting-seat at Woodstock—for there were forests all around, such as those of Cumnor, Bagley, and Wychwood. He also kept a menagerie there. As John Rous puts it, 'because of the said noble palace at Oxford, and conversation of Clerks, and the new park and palace at Woodstock, he, a person of great literature, took delight to abide in the county of Oxford. To him were sent from divers outlandish lords, lions,

leopards, strange spotted beasts, porcupines, camels, and such like animals. His new park at Woodstock was enclosed round with stone walls, in which the said king did nourish and maintain the delights of such creatures.' Later on, under John, we hear of bears and bearwards at Woodstock, perhaps for the carnal sport of bearbaiting.

Henry also, about 1126, founded the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, on the eastern road out of Oxford, for twelve brethren and a chaplain, with a leper-house adjoining; for, owing to the unclean mode of living in the middle ages, and to men eating salt meat half the year, and having next to no vegetables, leprosy, scurvy, and like diseases were rife, and we hear of leper-houses everywhere. Henry endowed it with 19*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.* out of the rents of Oxford, besides 65*s.* for clothing. It also had about six acres of land, and Henry II. gave it yearly two loads of hay out of King's mead behind Oseney. Juliana de St. Remigio gave 18*d.* yearly from her mill at Iffley; and Alice, widow of Richard de Ulmo, one acre in Bishopseyte mead in St. Giles. The charity was abused, and Edward II. reformed the hospital; which Edward III. gave to Adam de Brome for Oriel College, for the use of wholesome air in times of pestilential sickness. Magdalen used a house at Brackley in Northants for a similar purpose, the Fellows of Merton went to Cuxham or Islip, those of Trinity to Garsington, and those of Exeter to Kidlington. The citizens fought Oriel about the payment out of the town rents, but were beaten; yet they secured this point, that freemen of the city should have a preference in the appointments to the brotherhood;

and eight pensioners are still elected by the freemen. The Fellows of Oriel used to go in procession to St. Bartholomew's on Ascension Day, hear a service, and then walk to a well called Hickwell, at the upper end of the grove, where they sang certain hymns. In Edward III.'s time the hospital possessed Edward the Confessor's comb, St. Bartholomew's skin, the bones of St. Stephen, and one of the ribs of St. Andrew; and people troubled with headaches were cured by combing their heads with the comb.

Oxford also suffered much from its situation in the swamps. The district of the upper Thames has always been liable to floods. In geological times an estuary ran up to this point through a gap eaten out by the sea in the chalk hills that cross England from S.W. to N.E. below Oxford; and when the land rose above the sea-level the river naturally flowed down through the gap, but at several points, such as Sandford and Pangbourne, there were narrow passages that created lakes behind them. Even now, when the floods are out, the country round Oxford resembles a lake; as Leland says of one of the higher districts of the river, the 'low meadows are often overflowed by rage of rain.'

The city had hitherto been part of the royal demesne, and its dues were collected by the king's officers; but Henry I. let to the city the fee farm rent, or collective dues of the place, for a yearly payment of 63*l.* 5*s.*

A case quoted in the Abingdon book about 1104 illustrates the mode of legal action in this reign, and refers to the Portmannimot. 'Ermenold, a burgess of Oxford, held of Abbot Faritius a *wick*

near the bridge of Oxeneford, at a *gable* of 40*s.*, and it happened that he was a year in arrear. Hence the abbot next year, at harvest time, ordered all the stock that could be found on that land to be distrained, and the land to be served with a prohibition. But Ermenold sent on his behalf Walter, archdeacon of Oxeneford, and Richard de Stanlache, and received back his stock on their surety, a day being fixed for trying the case and answering to the bail. The day came, but neither defendant nor surety was there. Whence the abbot sent for the securities and inquired about it and, because they were his close friends, at their mediation it was settled between him and Ermenold, that Ermenold should submit to the abbot, and grant to the abbot and church of Abbendon that the church should have all the land he had of his own acquisition inside or outside the burgh, whether in his own hands or under pledge, provided it did not belong to the king, or a baron, or a bishop. The creditors (? debtors) of the land if they could discharge their land from pledge from the abbot should recover it, but else it should remain to the abbot and monks. On the other hand the abbot granted to Ermenold that he would make him a monk at Abbendon if he wished. But if he preferred to live as a layman in the town of Abbendon, a suitable dwelling should be provided for him, and the allowance of one monk and one servant be given him. This was done in the aforesaid house of Ermenold, with the consent of his wife and his son William, in the presence of the said Walter and Richard de Stanlac and many others. And afterwards it was shown and granted in the Portmannimot in the same way and on the same

terms.' The abbot held the hundred of Hornmere, just beyond Folly Bridge.

Oxford Castle and Robert d'Oilgi the younger played a famous part in the wars of Stephen with his cousin and rival the Empress Maud. Stephen had, in a parliament held at Oxford in 1135, granted a charter, with large liberties to the Church; and after the battle of the Standard he might have secured the throne, but for his impolicy in seizing Henry's able administrators, the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, at the Oxford meeting of 1139. This broke up the administration, turned the clergy against him, and encouraged Maud to land in the south. London and the East were for Stephen, the West for Maud. She was driven out of London in 1141 by the citizens, whom she had ill-treated, and took refuge with her friends in Oxford. But in 1142 Stephen besieged her in the castle from Michaelmas to midwinter. He had previously taken the neighbouring strongholds of her party, such as Cirencester, Bampton, and Radcot, and on reaching Oxford he had crossed the river by a deep ford, entered the gate with the fugitives, and set fire to the city. The Jews' quarter is said to have specially suffered, and St. Andrew's Church possibly perished at this time. Stephen occupied Beaumont, and beset the castle from thence. At the end of ten weeks the food in the castle failed, and Maud had to risk a most venturous escape. The snow was deep on the ground and on the frozen rivers, and it was falling fast when, accompanied only by three knights, and clad all in white, she got out of the castle by night, and slipping through Stephen's sentinels (one of whom was bribed), made her way over the frozen

Thames, up the hill opposite, and so to Abingdon, and at last reached Wallingford safely. As soon as she was gone the castle surrendered. On the close of the war, at another council held at Oxford, in 1154, the earls and barons swore fealty to the young Henry II., saving to Stephen his royal dignity during life.

Henry II. also favoured Beaumont and Woodstock, and one romantic story of his life is connected with Godstow. In 1166 a council was held at Oxford in which thirty Germans were condemned for their opposition to the system of the Church. They were branded and driven into the woods, where they perished of hunger. In 1175 Henry summoned the members of twelve vacant abbeys to Oxford, to elect new abbots, and held court at Woodstock with his son Henry. In 1177 the Welsh princes came hither to do homage, and Henry named his son John king of Ireland, and parted that country among the barons who had joined in the adventure of the conquest.

But we are chiefly concerned with the charter which he gave to the city before 1161, as we read it in an Inspeximus of Queen Elizabeth. 'Know that I have granted and confirmed to my citizens in Oxenford all liberties and customs and laws and quittances which they had in the time of King Henry, my grandfather, and specially their guild merchant, with all liberties and customs, in lands and in woods, pastures and other accessories, so that anyone who is not of the Guildhall shall not traffic in city or suburbs, except as he was wont in the time of King Henry, my grandfather. Besides I have granted them to be quit of toll and

passenger tax, and every custom through all England and Normandy, by land, by water, by sea-coast, *by land and by strand*. And they are to have all other customs and liberties and laws of their own, which they have in common with my citizens of London. And that they serve me at my feasts with those of my Butlery, and do their traffic with them, within London and without, and everywhere. And if they doubt or dispute about any legal judgment, let them send their messengers to London on the point, and hold to the decision of the Londoners. And let them not plead outside the city of Oxenforde about any claim made on them, but on whatever matter they have to plead they shall settle the suit according to the laws and customs of the citizens of London, and not otherwise, for they and the citizens of London have one and the same custom and law and liberty. Wherefore I will, &c., that they have the aforesaid liberties and laws and customs and tenures of their own as well and peacefully, &c., with Sac and Soc and Tol and Team and Infangtheof, and with all other liberties and customs and quittances of their own, as fully as ever they had them in the time of King Henry, my grandfather, and as my citizens of London have them. Witnesses, Thomas the Chancellor, Reginald Earl of Cornwall, Hugh Earl of Norfolk, &c.'

The mention of the merchant guild is important here. The early origin of guilds may have been due to the decline of the tie of blood as a means of protection or revenge. Then the frith guilds, or associations for mutual defence, undertook this duty, and afterwards trade guilds were formed on similar principles. The Church adopted and consecrated them, as she did all

other acts of personal or corporate life, and there were annual religious services connected with them.

As soon as the towns obtained the exclusion of the sheriffs from judicial work within their boundaries, and the right of electing their own magistrates, they were municipally complete. Their court-leet of all the free-holders exercised criminal jurisdiction in the smaller cases, and its universality and equality contrasted with the privileges of the guild. Their governing body therefore is not identical in idea with the merchant guild, though the merchant guild may in practice have furnished the leading members of the court-leet. The chief of the guild was the alderman, the chief of the magistracy was the *præpositus* or reeve, and later the mayor. Thus William de Cheney, alderman of the merchant guild, gave to Osney by charter (with the consent and will of the citizens of Oxford of the commune of the city and of the guild) the island Middeley, which the citizens had granted to William as a perpetual fief. The alderman could only arrange disputes between the members of the guild themselves, among whom strangers might be included. If a man was not in the guild, he paid the town dues and sometimes a special fine; but the members on paying entrance money and regular dues were toll free, and had a monopoly, or nearly so, of the retail trade.

The vindication of class privileges was one of the most effective ways of securing public liberty, so long as public liberty was endangered by the general pressure of tyranny. Later on, it is true, class privileges became themselves oppressive, and a hindrance to the progress of society; but there is a time for every-

thing. The charter distinctly lays down the principle that the merchant guild has an exclusive right of regulating trade except in specified cases—that is, as was customary in the reign of Henry I., when, as we know from the Pipe Rolls, the crafts of weavers and cordwainers had already purchased their freedom by fines. Thus in 31 Henry I. the weavers paid two marks of gold for their guild. And again in 7 Henry II. it is said, 'the weavers owe 6*l.* for their guild, the corvesiars owe 15 shillings;' and again in 1 Richard I., 'the weavers 6*l.* instead of one mark of gold, the corvesars 15 shillings instead of one ounce of gold.' A weavers' guild took a leading position in most towns, owing to wool being one of the staple commodities of England. There was a wool market at Holywell Green; 'Part of the ground since included in Magdalen College Grove was known as Parry's Mead; and here twenty-three looms were working at once, and barges came up to it, on the Cherwell; and seventy fullers and weavers were altogether there sometime inhabiting. There was also a wool market in Northgate Hundred, called Forum Parvys. In a Roll, 31 Edward I., J. Pylle was attached for receiving a piece of woollen cloth, containing six ells and a half, stolen in Oxford in the market called *Parvy*.'

About the Cordwainers or Corvisers (shoemakers), we are fully informed. 'No one shall work at their trade unless he belongs to their Guild, and any other cordwainers, who have come to the town, shall belong to the Guild. And for this grant they shall pay me an ounce of gold each year.' Henry III. reconfirmed their rights at Woodstock in 1270, but made them pay five

shillings a year more; and Edward II., in 1319, extended their control of the trade to the suburbs, for which they had to pay two shillings more. The money was to be paid to the bailiffs of the city on the annual day of meeting—the Monday following the feast of St. Luke—in a house near Bocardo, probably corresponding to the inn called the Three Goats—a short mode of describing the shoemakers' arms, which are Argent, a chevron sable, between three goats' heads erased. This alludes to the material from which the *Cordovan* and marocco leather was prepared. The very name *butcher* properly means one who killed goats. The members made their own by-laws, and they annually elected a master, a warden to help him, two searchers of leather, two keepers of the keys, two keepers of Our Lady's light, and, later on, a beadle and a steward. The searchers, on the one hand, seized all prohibited and foreign goods, and prevented unlicensed persons from trading, while on the other they protected the public from indifferent work and bad leather. Our Lady's light was kept with the Carmelites, or White Friars—i.e. in the Lady Chapel on the south side of St. Mary Magdalen. There were funds also for other purposes, much as in our benefit societies. Sisters of the guilds occur as well as brothers, and we find such entries as 'Widow Carter, for her admittance to use the trade of a Cordwayner, 3*s.* 4*d.*' In 1512 arbiters were appointed to decide a quarrel between the cordwainers and their journeymen, who also had a money-box and wardens of their own. Each new master had to give his brethren a dinner, or pay a penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.*; and they could demand a breakfast from new members,

which was sometimes given and sometimes compounded for. Those new members who could afford it gave a dinner; for instance, under Queen Elizabeth, Edward Kyrkeman 'made the occupacyon a dynner at his admyttynge, of his fre and franke good will which came of hymself, which cost him 22*s*.' The usual drink was ale or beer; and in 1644, when the company consisted of about fifty-six persons, three kilderkins of beer (i.e. fifty-four gallons) were provided, at a cost of 18*s*. Besides this, 7*s*. 3*d*. is charged for wine—the first time that wine occurs. Next year five quarts of sack are provided, at the price of 7*s*. 6*d*. The *cofer*, or money-box, of the guild is still preserved by the company. In the fifteenth century we have an ordinance as to apprenticeship in the craft of the Tawyers (who dressed leather with alum) at Oxford, made by the master of the trade, with the assent of William Dagvile, the mayor. *Foreigners* admitted to the trade are to pay 53*s*. 4*d*., and to find a breakfast. The mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and chamberlains are also to be invited to a breakfast, given by the craft, once a year.

The Glovers celebrated mass in a chapel of All Saints on Trinity Monday. Their ordinance bound them to find a light in Trinity Chapel of Allhallows Church—viz. eight tapers and six torches—to be honestly kept to the praise of the Holy Trinity.

The Barbers, at their incorporation in 1348, at the order of the Vice-Chancellor, agreed that they would yearly maintain a light in Our Lady's Chapel at St. Frideswide; for the sure continuance of which every man or woman of the profession that kept a shop should pay twopence each quarter, two journeymen one

penny, and to keep it always burning under a penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* They were not to work on Sundays, except on market Sundays in harvest time; nor shave any but such as were to preach or do a religious act on the Sundays in any part of the year. The members of the Company of Barbers, which existed till 1859, used to dine once a year with the Vice-Chancellor and sup once with the proctors. In early times each college hired a barber at twelvepence a term, while the washerwoman had fifteenpence. In 1374 these sums are raised to twenty and thirty pence. By 1536 the barber had 10*s.* a year, the washerwoman 13*s.* 4*d.*

The craft of Tailors had a chantry in St. Martin's at Carfax, founded by Alderman Thomas Wythigge in the reign of Henry VI., and allowed a priest that should pray for their welfare a yearly stipend of 3*l.* 16*s.*, and in token of this foundation there was a pair of tailor's shears painted in the upper south window of the south aisle. In a dispute between city and university, in 1530–31, the Vice-Chancellor, Martin Lyndsey, says that 'Now the taylors by Michael Hethe, when he was mayor, were and be borne against the Chancellor and Commissary to have of them an incorporation unlawfully, and to have a master and warden of their craft, and to have unlawful assemblies for the setting of their prices in making of all manner of garments, whereby the University and Town be greatly hurt and poverished, and saith, moreover, that it appeareth by the old acts and registers of the University, that only the Chancellor, Commissary, and Proctors of the said University, partly for such causes as of furryers is before rehearsed, and partly for that scholars should

have no tailors, their servants working within them, and for that, that they took much more for the making of the scholars' garments, than they do for a layman's, nevertheless he saith that if the said Master Cole [the proctor] so did as is pretended in this article, he supposed it was at the special instance and desire of the pretended Master and Warden of the Company of Tailors within the said town.' On October 11, 1569, 'it was agreed at this present Counsell [of the city], by all the Counsell there assembled, that the occupation of mersers and haberdashers shall have a corporation, and also that the tailors and woollen drapers within this city shall have a corporation.' The power to incorporate was disputed between city and university.

The tailors had their shops in St. Michael's parish. There prevailed among them what they called revelling —'particularly on the vigil of St. John the Baptist they caroused themselves at that time with all joviality in meats and drinks, took a circuit through all the streets of the city, accompanied with musical instruments, and using certain sonnets in praise of their profession and patron. This increased more and more, to the disturbance of the people, beating the watch, to blows often, and murder; as it appears by an Inquisition that it was, with another revelling circuit of another Profession on the vigil of St. Peter and St. Paul, prohibited by the King in his letters sent to the Chancellor of the University.' In 1452 we hear of John Mathew, a fishmonger, being denounced to the Chancellor for collecting scholars and others to beat John Wodestok, a tailor, of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen. In 1463 John Harry, a tailor, having

wounded another man with a little knife, fled into sanctuary at Broadgates Hall in All Saints parish. Walter Hill, the southern proctor, dragged him out and put him in custody, under a promise however to restore him to sanctuary in case his life was in danger. As the wound was not serious, another tailor was allowed to give surety for the payment of the regular fine; but the proctor had at last to restore Harry to the sanctuary. The right of sanctuary in this Hall was not abolished until 1530. The company boasted that eight kings, eleven dukes, forty-one earls, with many hundreds of gentlemen of family and fortune, had been admitted as honorary members of the fraternity. Latterly, of course, this was for electioneering reasons. Thus, in 1776, the Hon. Peregrine Bertie, Sir Narborough d'Aeth, and Francis Brownsword Bullock, Esq., were thus admitted; while John Walley, Esq., presented the society with a handsome piece of plate. In 1790 the Earl of Macclesfield entertained at the Star the members of the Tailors' and Cordwainers' Companies, upon which occasion the two honorary members, Captain Parker and Lord Parker, were each presented with a tailor's silver thimble, and a silver-bladed shoemaker's awl in an ivory handle.

In 1480 the Chancellor made the Cooks into a corporation, and appointed that all cooks upon their riding day—that is, the day when they show themselves in their bravery on horseback in their passage from St. Bartholomew's Hospital into Oxford, commonly done in Whitsun week—should pay fourpence at their entrance into the Eastgate. And in 1571 the Vice-Chancellor appointed a sermon to be annually preached

before them on Good Friday in the church of St. Peter in the East, which continued until the middle of the eighteenth century.

There were also numerous chantries, and fraternities, such as those of St. Thomas and St. Nicholas at St. Mary's.

The relation of the merchant guild to the craft guilds was something like that subsisting between the university and the colleges. The merchant guild had, of course, great influence in the town, but the municipal government of the place was originally distinct from it, though for convenience the Guildhall at last became the Common Hall of the city.

Queen Eleanor often resided at Oxford and Woodstock; Richard I. was born at Beaumont in 1157, and John at Woodstock in 1166. Among the many charters which Richard granted before going on the crusade, he gave one to Oxford sanctioning the appointment of a mayor and two aldermen, and that the mayor should be butler at the coronation feast. This last means that the mayor should assist the Lord Mayor of London, who assisted the chief Butler. The city put in a claim to this at the coronation of Charles II., and was 'allowed to perform the service, and to have and receive three maple cups for their fee'; and they received besides, as a favour, a gilt cup and cover, which is still preserved among the city plate. The ceremony was performed for the last time at the coronation of George IV. The rolls of John mention nine towns that had mayors, and Oxford is one of them. Henry III., in 1255, doubled the number of aldermen, and associated eight leading burgesses with them, mainly to keep peace between the

university and the city, and to see that the assize of bread, beer, and wine was observed, that bakers stamped all loaves with their own stamp, that brewers had their own stamp, and that wines were sold on like terms to clerks and laymen from the time they were broached. The four aldermen corresponded to the four wards of the City, which were formed by the four streets that cross at right angles by Carfax, but it is not clear how the *two* aldermen of the previous system corresponded to the wards. Each of the four had a court of his own, called a wardmote, and in later times they acted as justices, and chose their own officers or constables. The *title* of alderman had passed on to them from the merchant guild, but their functions were now somewhat different. As the work grew, more aldermen were of course needed, and the new aldermen were city officers and not special officers of the guild. Oxford probably followed the example of London in this as in other respects.

The two bailiffs remained royal officers as before, and had to collect the fee-farm rent of the town and account for it at the exchequer. They also had the custody of offenders. They were elected from those who had been chamberlains, on the same day and in the same manner as the mayor, but might not hold office two years running. The chamberlains were anciently guild officers, who regulated the admission of apprentices; later on they kept the accounts of the city, and had the oversight of the 'waters from Prince's weirs unto Scisseter and to Charwell, with the creeks and ditches.' They were elected out of the twenty-four common councilmen on September 30, in the same

manner as the mayor and bailiffs. In the sixteenth century they were still joined with the mayor in admitting the new hanasters, or members of the trading corporation. Lastly, the councilmen were elected from the citizens at large. Among the chamberlain's expenses we find the cost of a cucking-stool for ducking scolds, and in 1579 they are ordered to have one made on wheels 'that it may be drawn from place to place, to punish such women as shall indecently abuse any person of this city by words.' Mention is also made of the stocks, pillory, and cage, and of four whipping-posts for market sharpers and tricksters. There were also key-keepers, who had charge of the common chest, and a town clerk, and a keeper of Bocardo[1] prison. The city also had high officers in its Steward and its Recorder.

The names of the early chiefs of the citizens long lingered in the names of streets and houses. Peckwater Quad occupies the site where stood the house of Ralph Peckwether, who was a bailiff of the city under Henry III. Pembroke Street has superseded the name of Pennyfarthing Street, named from the Pennyverthings, one of whom was bailiff in that reign. The sign of the Ship Tavern has driven from Ship Street the title of Burewald's Lane, which it owed to the wealthy family that ended in Dionysia Burewald, the foundress of a chantry in St. Michael's for the souls of those of her name, 'especially of Gilbert and Radulph, men of great

[1] The prison may have been so named, sarcastically, from the form of syllogism called Bocardo, out of which the reasoner could not 'bring himself back into his first figure' without the use of special processes. Other prisons have received sarcastic names.

possessions in Oxford.' Their name had itself superseded the designation the street before derived from the Dewys, a family of early note. The lane from Bocardo to New Inn Hall was called Bedford Lane, from burgesses of that name in the first Edward's time, and then Adynton's Lane, from Stephen Adynton, who was mayor in 1338. Improvements have destroyed Kepeharme's Lane, which ran from Fish Street (St. Aldate's) into the Butcher Row, westward between the parishes of St. Peter le Bailly and St. Ebbe, and was known as Kepeharm's Twychen—*twycina* in Old English means a *meeting of two ways*; twitten and twitchel are still used in some places to mean a narrow alley. Thus the memorial of a family has passed away that, like the Segrims, whose tenements were destroyed by Wolsey, may have held office in Oxford before the Conquest. Cheney Lane may have owed its name to William de Cheneto, who is said to have held office under Stephen.

The sheriff still interfered in the case of royal tenants. Thus, under John, in 1205, we read: 'Alice, who was the wife of John Kepeharm, offers our lord the king 100 marks and two palfreys that she may marry according to the law and custom of the town of Oxford, and that she may have what she ought to have out of the lands and chattels which belonged to her husband John, according to the law of the town. And order was given to the sheriff that, on receiving security from her for the payment of the money into the treasury, he should, without delay, give Alice full seisin of her lands and chattels, which were taken into the hand of our lord the king by his order, according to the law

and custom of the town of Oxford, and cause our lord the king to know the names of her securities.' And again, 'Stephen of Oxford offers our lord the king 200 hens at his arrival at Woodstock, to have a letter requesting Alice, formerly wife of John Kepeharme, to take him as her husband. And this whether she has him or not.'

Oxford then had customs and liberties in common with London; and the mayor, who was elected on the Monday before St. Matthew's day, was formally admitted to his office by the barons of the Exchequer at Westminster. The citizens in their liveries, and accompanied by minstrels, met the new mayor, on his return from London, at the Trinity Chapel, without Eastgate, where he stayed to return thanks to God for his safe return, and left an alms on the altar. The Mayor was always the representative of the Crown in all public matters. Thus in 1318 Capgrave says, 'There came a young man to Oxenforth, and preached openly that he was son to King Edward I., and very eyre of England. Eke he noised that this Edward II. was not the king's son, but a carter child sotily brought into the queen. The Meyhir of Oxenforth took this man and sent him to the king that lay then at Northampton.'

It was usual for towns to copy, in whole or part, the privileges of some other town that had a charter previously. Thus Oxford copied London, and thus in turn Oxford was copied by Bedford, Burford in Oxfordshire, King's Lynn, Marlborough, Plymouth, Portsmouth, and Yarmouth. Such places were bound to consult the leading town if a doubtful matter came before them. Abroad there was often an actual right

of appeal to the pattern town, and the smaller places followed her banner in war. This close relationship of groups of towns helped forward the formation of large confederacies, such as the Hanseatic League. But in England the king's authority was too strong to allow of such independent formations; and the security created by the royal judicature tended to develop boroughs with a guild merchant, rather than independent or judicially interdependent towns and municipal federations. We have a good instance of the relations between Oxford and London under Edward III., when the former obtained a writ from London to certify the mode of holding pleas of land in the Hustings Court. 'To the honorable and sage men and their very dear friends the Mayor and Bailiffs of the town of Oxenforde the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London send greeting. We have read your letter sent lately to us, asking us to certify our usages. We certify you that at every Husteng of pleas of land held in our city each alderman returns a panel of twelve good men summoned to be at the Husteng.' No transfer of land or house could be made without its being ratified at the Hustings Court, and wills were registered there. The list of suitors or attendants at the court in 1519 includes the neighbouring abbots, abbesses, priors and prioresses, several heads of colleges, and representatives of city churches.

About 1355 we find Thomas Leggy, mayor, and the aldermen of London writing to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxenford desiring them to cause John Norhamtone, common clerk of the Guildhall of the town of Oxford, Nicholas Trewelove, fishmonger and burgess, and Walter

Ferby, burgess, to pay to John de Gonewardeby, grosser and citizen of London, or to his attorney, the bearer of these letters, certain sums of money which they respectively owe him, in such manner as they would wish their folk to be treated in like case or weightier.

Men were admitted to the freedom of the city, or to the merchant guild, by birth, apprenticeship, or purchase, or by direct order of the council. The mayor had the right to make his son a freeman on payment of a gilt penny; and if he had no child he was allowed to name some one else.

As in 1190 most of Oxford was burnt, including St. Frideswide's, the citizens now began to follow the example of London in using stone, at least for the party-walls between the wooden houses. The houses at this time had only one story above the ground floor, the *solar* above the *celar*. 'Our burghers took example from the Londoners, that whereas the houses were builded of wood and straw, they began afterwards to build with stone and slate. In those places, also, where lived poor people, that could not be at the charge to build in that manner, they for the most part erected an high stone wall between every four or six or more houses. Upon the coming up of this fashion of building with stone, such tenements that were so built were for the better distinction from others called Stone or Tiled halls. Some of those halls that were not slated were, if standing near those that were, stiled Thatched halls. Likewise when glass came into fashion, for before that time our windows were only latticed, that hall that had its windows first glazed was stiled, for difference sake, Glazen hall. In like manner 'tis probable that those that had leaden

gutters, or any part of their roofs of lead, were stiled Leaden halls, or, in one instance Leden porch. Those halls also that had staples to their doors (for our predecessors used only latch and catch) were written Staple halls.' Such is Wood's account of the change.

Oxford was still a convenient meeting-place for general purposes. Thus in 1193 a council was held there to consult how to raise money for Richard's ransom, and Oxford of course had to pay its share, but as its liberties were soon after seized into the king's hands, it may have had difficulty in paying the large sum levied. At a more famous council, in 1197, when Archbishop Hubert demanded money to pay a military force for the king's foreign wars, St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, replied that the Church of Lincoln and its pastor were bound to do faithful service to their lord the king within his realm, but that no men or money were they bound to contribute for undertakings beyond the sea. And his opposition to the illegal demand was successful.

John visited Oxford frequently. In 1204 and 1207 he held a *colloquium* or parliament here, for the grant of an aid; and four knights from every shire were summoned up in 1213; and in 1215 the king came to Oxford in the vain expectation that the nobles would meet him there, and he more than once passed through Oxford during the war with the barons. The city was garrisoned for John and besieged by the barons, and after his death the friends of the young king Henry met, in 1217, at Oxford, while the adherents of Louis of France were gathered at Cambridge. But perhaps Oxford was even more remarkable as a meeting-place under Henry III.;

who was there at Christmas 1221, and in 1237 when he declared himself of age, and cancelled the charters as being made in his minority; and in 1228, and in 1233 when the barons refused to attend ('they will choose another king, if he dismiss not the Bishop of Winchester and the Lords from Poitou'); and in 1235 and 1238, and in 1247, first at Oxford and then at Woodstock, where the clergy were forced to give the Pope 11,000 marks. In 1238 the students paid little respect even to the Legate Otho. They went to do honour to him at Osney, but when the doorkeeper kept them back, they pressed in, regardless of the clubs and fists of the Romans. And when a poor Irish clerk begged at the kitchen door that they would give him of the good things, the master-cook (the Legate's own brother, for fear of poison) in wrath flung hot broth from out of a pot into his face. A Welsh scholar cried, '*Shall we bear this?*' and bending a bow he shot the cook with a bolt through the body, so that he fell dead to the earth. The scholars in derision named him Nebuzaradan, *the prince of cooks*. The Legate fled disguised into the tower, and remained hidden till night, when he mounted a horse and fled through byways to the court, while the scholars were seeking him with loud cries—'Where is the usurer, the simonist, the plunderer of our goods, who thirsts after our gold and silver, who leads the king astray, and, upsetting the kingdom, enriches strangers with our spoils?' The Legate put the University under an interdict, and the king commissioned the town officers to take the preliminary steps in the matter, who huddled scholars and masters into prison indiscriminately, and a general dispersion and flight

ensued, till Bishop Grostête interfered to check this lawless violence. Odo of Kilkenny and thirty others had already been imprisoned at Wallingford. The Legate at last appointed a penitential procession to beg his pardon, and the matter ended. A constitutional crisis followed the meeting of 1254, and in 1258 the king was forced to place the work of reform in the hands of a body of twenty-four counsellors, to be chosen in a parliament at Oxford. This council drew up a body of preliminary articles, which are known as the Provisions of Oxford. The king published his adhesion to the Provisions in Latin, French, and English—the first instance of a proclamation in English, and the last until Henry V.'s time. It probably shows that Simon de Montfort, who had the control of affairs, felt the need of appealing to the nation at large. One of the two surviving copies of this proclamation exists at Oxford (the other is that sent to Huntingdon). It is written mainly in the midland dialect, with a little mixture both of North and South, and there is not a French word in it. It has three unmistakable instances of midland grammar as distinguished from southern, viz. in the forms *beon*, *habben*, and *maken*, as compared with *beoth*, *habbeth*, and *makien*. Again, in 1264, a parliament was held at Oxford. There was a tradition that boded misfortune to any king who entered within the city walls. Henry III. however defied it by coming to worship at the shrine of St. Frideswide in 1264—not long before the battle of Lewes. In 1265 Simon de Montfort called the famous parliament, to which the towns sent members for the first time. The writs were issued from

Woodstock. There is no doubt that Oxford sent representatives to the national council as early as other places, but the returns are lost up to Edward I.'s great parliament of 1295. The return by the sheriff in that year is thus worded: 'There is no city or borough in Oxfordshire except the town of Oxford; and the writ which came to me was sent on to the bailiffs of the liberty of that town, and they answered me that by the assent of the community of the town of Oxford there were elected under the writ two burgesses, viz. Thomas de Sowy and Andrew de Pyrie.' Pirie was again elected in 1300 with John le Orfevre (Aurifaber), and his name occurs as member in at least twelve more parliaments. The University did not obtain members until James I.'s first parliament in 1604, but a precedent might have been found in 1301, when a writ was issued to the Chancellor of the University to send four or five men best versed in the written law; and the first two members returned in 1604 were both doctors of civil law.

The members for counties received four shillings a day, while town members had only two. Other Oxfordshire boroughs soon began to return members, such as Chipping Norton, Deddington, Woodstock, Witney, Burford: but the expense of even two shillings a day soon led many towns to discontinue sending members, or to throw the charge on the members themselves. In 1537 Oxford refused to pay William Fleming, alderman, his costs and expenses of 56*l.* incurred during the famous seven years' parliament of Henry VIII., 1529–36, on the ground that at his election he had promised to pay his expenses himself. The burgesses returned to parlia-

ment were townsmen, and an ordinance was passed in 1568 requiring a residence of three years as freemen before they were eligible, and they were not to be under the degree of a bailiff. Such names as le Orfevre, le Spicer, show that the local chiefs were returned. Other names, such as John de Cudelynton (Kidlington), denote families that had migrated into the city from the neighbouring parishes.

Yet one more event connects Oxford with the reign of Henry III. His brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, like himself, had been often at Oxford; and he by will directed a foundation to be endowed for three *secular* priests to pray for his soul. But his son, Edmund, about 1281, founded in North Osney an abbey of *regulars* instead, Cistercian monks from Thame; and called it Rewly (*regalis locus*), and gave it sixteen acres to the west of the abbey for walks and for private use. To represent the twenty-one monks twenty-one elm-trees were planted between the outward and inward gates of the abbey, and at the upper end a tree by itself to represent the abbot. It was to this abbey that Cistercian monks came up to study, till Archbishop Chichele founded St. Bernard's for them. At the dissolution the site passed to Christ Church, and much stone and timber from it was used for Our Lady's Chapel in St. Mary Magdalen. Rewly Meadows were bought by Corpus, and it was stipulated that the college should pay annually 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to the poor of St. Thomas' parish.

It remains to speak of the watch and ward of the city. A law of Henry III. in 1233 ordains that 'watch be kept in every township at night from the day of Our Lord's Ascension to Michaelmas, by four men at least

if the township is small, and in proportion if it is large. And any stranger passing through at night shall be arrested till morning, and, if the watch cannot arrest him, they shall raise hue and cry after him.' Gradually the University got the charge of the night police into its own hands. In 1450, at a time when the War of the Roses was evidently approaching, it was arranged that the University should provide four scholars for a fortnight or three weeks to watch with four townsmen at the four gates. On July 12, 1612, an Order in Council lays down that 'in case of hue and cry in Oxford—wherein the city complain that the University hinder them in the prosecution of justice—ancient charters having given the night watch solely to the University, each party shall give notice to and assist the other in search or pursuit of malefactors, as the cause requires. Also that the University shall not interfere with the city authorities if on an emergency they walk within their own liberties in the night-time, provided they do not encroach on those of the University.' The ordinary watch was perhaps not much more effective than in Dogberry's time. Shakespeare on his way to London used to stop at the Crown inn in Oxford (then on the east side of Cornmarket Street), and he may have been thinking of the Oxford watchmen; as in other passages he perhaps refers to the university life that he saw before him, and satirises the pedantry of the scholars no less than the dulness of the citizens. Some of his chief friends, such as the Earl of Pembroke (afterwards Chancellor), were Oxford men.

We may end this chapter with a general sketch of

the old city as it was in the middle ages. The wall enclosed a small rectangular space, measuring about half a mile from east to west, and a little more than a quarter of a mile from north to south, with a central street about thirty-six feet above the level of the river. The two tall towers of the Castle and of St. Michael's guarded the western and northern approaches. On the north side was a deep ditch with water running through it, called Canditch; but, as ground became valuable, this was gradually filled up, and it is now represented by Broad Street, a street previously called Horsemonger Lane, from the custom of holding a fair for horses there. The bastions of the wall, built at intervals of 150 feet, still exist in several places. In 1235 Henry III. had it renewed with stone, and allowed the citizens to levy a toll for the purpose once every week for three years. A continuous street went all round the town just inside the wall, but it is now mostly enclosed or obstructed. The four gates were not taken down until 1771. Eastgate stood nearly at the bottom of High Street, with the hospital of St. John's outside, between it and the Cherwell, on the site now occupied by Magdalen. Northgate adjoined St. Michael's Church in the Cornmarket. Southgate was in St. Aldate's (then called Fish Street inside, and Bridge Street outside, the gate), and stood just where the wall of Pembroke (itself part of the city wall) reaches the street, with a considerable slope between it and the river, just as in the case of Eastgate; and there were some intermediate streams between it and the Thames, one of which was called the Trill Mill stream. Westgate was a small gate at the western end of the street that ran along the inside

of the southern wall of the city; at the point where the two streets running westward from the churches of St. Ebbe and St. Peter le Bailly met, and it probably led to the Castle mill, and was more of a postern than a city gate. There was a ford of the Thames on the road to Abingdon, and one on the Cherwell leading towards London, but we also find early mention of bridges. Robert d'Oilgi built Hythe or High Bridge which connected the road along the north of Oxford with the west, and put it under the control of the Castle. All persons coming across the meadows from the west, and all the goods landed at the Hythe or *haven* from barges—and most goods must have come by the river—would be taken up to the Northgate of the town by the road which passed along the bank of the Great Ditch, much in the line of the present George Street, and hence the chief market of the place was naturally in the street leading from Northgate to Carfax, still called the Cornmarket. The south bridge, *Grand Pont* or *Folly Bridge*, was probably built in the same century, to aid the communication with Abingdon; but the swampy meadows beyond the bridge must have been often impassable until the causeway was raised, on more than forty arches. Before that time it would have often been easier to go out along the north road on the ridge of gravel, cross by Wolvercote and Godstow to Cumnor hill, and so along the range to Abingdon.

The city had mills on both sides, the Castle mill on the Thames, and Holywell mill on the Cherwell, both still in existence. Eynsham Abbey had also two mills, one of which may have been on Trill Mill stream. Osney Abbey naturally had mills of its own: and there was

Boiemill, near Milham bridge, which led from St. Frideswide's over the Cherwell.

The city had several springs or wells, for the rainfall filled the gravel bed of the valley with a never-ceasing supply. One of these on the east side of Oxford was famous as a 'Holy Well,' over which a roofed enclosure was built in 1488. Not far off was Crowel well, in Holywell Green, but this was destroyed in the Civil War. Winifred's well, east of St. Bartholomew's Chapel, perished at the same time. Just south of Cowley Grange was St. Edmund's well, but this too has perished. In 1304 the bishop of Lincoln ordered the superstitious practices at this well to be stopped, as wax candles were offered there. On the western side, in Stockwell Street, leading from Walton to the Castle, there was a *Stoke well*, under the wall of Cornwall Close, called Plato's well, or Cornish Chough well. Aristotle also had his well, sometimes called Bruman's well, from Bruman the Rich, a tenant of Robert d'Oilgi, and there were other wells near it. There was a famous well at All Souls in the house called 'The Rose.' At Exeter and at Queen's we hear of draw-wells within the colleges.

In 1319 Edward II. commanded the mayor and bailiffs to prevent those who were not free of any guild thrusting out those that were, and to divide the tradesmen of the town from strangers by limits and bounds, in the standing of their goods. And if the mayor and bailiffs did not conform hereto, the University might do it; which therefore ordained the market (on Wednesdays and Saturdays) as it had been of old, viz. :—'All sellers of hay and straw shall stand

with their teams in the middle of High Street, between Eastgate and Allhallows Church. All sellers of fagots and other like fuel in carts and waggons between Oriel College Lane and the south of High Street. The timber merchants between St. Thomas' Hall (near Swan Court) and St. Edward's Lane (Alfred Street). The sellers of hogs and swine between St. Mary's and Allhallows Church. Beer and ale drapers between St. Edward's Lane and the Chequer inn. The sellers of roots and coals by St. Edward's Lane on the north of High Street. The sellers of gloves and whitawyers between Allhallows Church and the house next the Mitre inn. The bakers between Carfax Conduit (i.e. the site of the later conduit) and Northgate. The furriers, linen and woollen drapers by the two-faced pump (in High Street). The tanners between Carfax and Somner's inn (to the south of the Cross inn). Sellers of butter, cheese, milk, eggs, from the corner of Carfax towards the Old Bayly (Butcher Row). The cornsellers between the Cross inn and Northgate.' Besides these market stands, the trades had distinct districts assigned to them, with more or less reference to the centre of the town at Carfax. The Spicery and Vintnery lay to the south, Fish Street extended down to Folly Bridge, the corn-market stretched away to Northgate, the stalls of the butchers ranged in their 'Butcher Row,' along the road to the Castle.

The space within the walls was so narrow that the city soon began to spread beyond the ditch to the northwards, in the district known as the North Hundred, of which Robert d'Oilgi had a separate grant, but of which the city acquired the manorial rights by purchase from

the D'Amori family in 1357, with the royal sanction. Yet even now the old difference of jurisdiction makes itself felt, and outside parishes, such as St. Giles's and St. Clement's, do not belong to the Oxford Poor-law Union. The city also spread east and west, for besides the colleges and monastic buildings, which took up much space, the rich men would not dispense with their courts and gardens, and the very poor were either crowded into narrow lanes and small houses, or had to lodge outside the walls. The freemen represented in the main the old owners of freehold houses; the poorer classes lay outside political life.

If any enthusiastic person could wish himself back in mediæval Oxford, he would probably not find it very inviting. The artisan stepped out of his mud hovel into a muddy street, and this at a time when the Moor at one corner of Europe, and the Florentine at the other, were enjoying the advantages of a polished capital. The unpaved streets and lanes had a gutter running down the centre, into which much was thrown from the windows; and through the narrow lanes came strings of pack-horses, to make them still more dangerous. There was an absence of all due means of cleanliness and health. Here and there hung at night a few oil lights. Abroad we hear of Sixtus V., when a boy, reading by the light of the lanterns hung up at the crossing of the streets. In the houses the smoke from the charcoal fire escaped through an opening in the roof, since chimneys for private rooms did not come into use until the fourteenth century, and were not common till Elizabeth's reign. The coal-mines of Tynedale were not opened even until Queen Philippa's time,

and coal was long disliked as fuel. The University petitioned that the forests of Shotover and Stow might not be cut down, because it would injure the place by destroying the wood necessary for firing. Candles were dear, nearly twopence a pound—that is, two shillings of our money at least. Amyot, the French translator of Plutarch, had to read by the light of the charcoal in the brazier. Men could not afford to read in their rooms after dark. The wicks of the better candles were made of cotton, which at that time grew in Cyprus, Sicily, and Italy; but rushlights continued in use down to our own days. In rude ages men had few amusements or occupations but what daylight afforded them. They rose at five, the dinner hour was at ten; late in the afternoon they supped, and went to bed early. Shakespeare's plays were acted in the open light in the afternoon. The statutes of Magdalen ordered all students to leave the hall (where they lingered because of the fire) at curfew time, except on saints' days, when they might stay on and amuse themselves with ballads, and read historical poems, chronicles, and the wonders of the world. The gates of the colleges were shut at nine in summer, at eight in winter: and the proctors took no excuse if they found anyone outside the college walls after those hours.

The dining halls were strewn with rushes, into which all sorts of nastiness were thrown, and after about a fortnight they became unendurable, and there was, or ought to have been, a general cleaning. The sweating sickness of Tudor times, like other plagues, was largely due to the filthy mode of living. Erasmus says:—'The floors are in general laid with a white clay, and are

covered with rushes, occasionally removed, but so imperfectly that the bottom layer is left undisturbed, sometimes for twenty years, harbouring expectorations, vomitings, the leakage of dogs and men, ale-droppings, scraps of fish, and other abominations not fit to be mentioned. The island would be much more salubrious if the use of rushes were abandoned. More moderation in diet, and especially in the use of salt meats, might be of service, more particularly were public ediles appointed to see the streets cleaned from mud, and the suburbs kept in better order.' Our enthusiast too might come in for an awkward fray; even the revelling tailors were not to be despised, still less the feuds between the northern and southern students. The coroners' inquests in the time of Edward I. show how dangerous the streets were. A rough age and people however did not object to a rough life, and it is not easy to judge of the habits of a distant past.

Several occasions of noticing the relations between the City and the University have already come before us; we must now speak of them more at large. The city was still one of the leading municipalities in the country. There was little sign as yet that the body of poor students in its midst would some day take the control of the place out of the hands of the citizens.

CHAPTER III.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE CITY.

Origin of the University—The Religious Orders—Hostels—First Group of Colleges—Student Life—Town and Gown—St. Scholastica's Day.

WE do not know when or how public teaching began at Oxford, but it was probably due to the Norman rule. Such teaching usually originated at the Court or the bishop's palace, or the school of some monastery. There is no trace of any teaching at St. Frideswide's, though there may have been a school attached to the priory, and Guimond, the first Norman prior, was a man of much 'literature.' But learned men had gathered round Henry I. in his palace at Beaumont; and Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln (the seat of the diocese to which Oxford belonged had been transferred from Dorchester to Lincoln), was a great officer at Court, and died in Henry's presence, at Woodstock, in 1123. His successor, Alexander, belonged to the family of Roger of Salisbury, who was at the head of Henry's administration. Anselm had revived theological study at the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, and Bec had property in Oxford. The study of law too had begun at Bologna. At Paris a *studium* had been developed out of the cloister school of the cathedral; but then independent

teachers like Abelard gathered round them a circle of scholars. Friends and rivals followed, and a *studium generale*, or university, grew up gradually, though it was not incorporated (*universitas* means *corporation*) till kings and bishops thought good to recognise acknowledged facts. The incorporation of the scholars meant that Church and State recognised power in a certain body of Masters to confer licences to teach; but this recognition was given practically long before any formal documents can be shown for it. Paris has no documents earlier than 1200, and Oxford is even more deficient.

A place of 'general study' was open to students from all parts of Christendom, and any king, or noble, or city might found such a teaching centre. But when the masters wished to teach elsewhere, that is, to have their own *facultas docendi* expanded into a *facultas ubique docendi*, this privilege could only be granted them by the Emperor or the Pope, usually by the latter; and hence the papacy became a natural centre for university interests. The seven years' training required for the Master's degree was copied from the apprenticeship in the guilds, and so was the name of *Master*. The intermediate name of Bachelor means 'youth,' and corresponds to the 'assistants' in the guilds, called 'garçons' in France. Similarly, in the Inns of Court at London the barrister answered to the journeyman, and the serjeant to the master or doctor.

It was only natural that men trained in France or Italy should give lectures when an opportunity occurred in England. Master Robert Pullein, who had been trained at Paris, began to lecture at Oxford on the

Scriptures in 1133; and sixteen years later Vacarius the Lombard, a friend of Archbishop Theobald, taught Roman law there, till he was silenced by King Stephen. Were there teachers earlier than Pullein? Wood says:—'Various deeds made about 1109 mention School Street and Shydiard Street (vicus schediasticorum, *shorthand writers*), and in the same deeds the titles of masters, and clerical titles annexed in various passages, in designating the owner (of the properties);' and Pullein's lecturing may imply that some teaching already existed, but we have nothing definite previously to this time.

There was certainly a revival of literature in the reign of the 'scholar' king. Important histories and biographies were written, and the romance of Geoffrey of Monmouth, 'The History of the Britons,' acted on the warlike spirit of the island people, as the contemporary romance in France, Archbishop Turpin's chronicle of Charlemagne, influenced men's minds abroad. It shows the growing importance of the city of Oxford that Geoffrey introduced its name into his story of Arthur. One of the chiefs who fights best against the Romans, after Arthur has taken his army over to Barfleur, is the 'consul of Oxford,' *De vado boum*, who is elsewhere called *Ridocensis* i.e. *Oxenefordiae*. Here we have the fictitious Celtic name of Oxford, derived from *rhyd*, a ford, and *ychen*, oxen. It was Walter Mape, archdeacon of Oxford, who gave Geoffrey the manuscript of his book.

We soon hear of a *Chancellor* at Oxford, an official named or authorised by the bishop of Lincoln, and who only gradually became independent of him. The com-

pact of 1214 with the city says:—'Fifty-two shillings for the use of poor scholars shall be dispensed by the hand, &c. . . . or of the Chancellor whom the Bishop of Lincoln *shall set over the scholars there*.' The *townspeople* are then required to tender their oaths of peace 'before the Archdeacon of the place and the Chancellor, or before one or other of them if both are not present.'

There were even more learned men at Henry II.'s Court than at that of his grandfather, and he was equally fond of the neighbourhood of Oxford. Giraldus Cambrensis, about 1186, read the three parts of his 'Topography of Wales' on three days before the students, and says that he gave a great entertainment on the occasion: on the first day to the poor of the town, on the second to the doctors and leading students, on the third to the other scholars and the knights and burgesses of the town.

The sarcastic Jew in Richard of Devizes' 'History of Richard I.' says, 'Oxford barely keeps its *clerks* from starving, Exeter gives the same grain to men and horses, York swarms with filthy Scots, Bristol contains none but soapmakers, Winchester is best of all.' A list of the products for which towns were famous, written about 1300, says 'Oxford for schools, Cambridge for eels.'

In 1209 a scholar practising archery accidentally killed a woman and made his escape. The mayor seized three clerks and imprisoned them, and induced John, who was then at Woodstock and in feud with the Pope, to have them led out of the town and hanged 'in contempt of ecclesiastical liberty.' Whence many scholars fled to Cambridge, Reading, or Maidstone in Kent, and the University determined to suspend all

scholastic exercises; while the legate, Nicholas, Bishop of Tusculum, laid an interdict on the city. It suffered so much that in 1214 it submitted to the legate, and made a compact under oath not to encroach on the bishop's authority, to offer masses for the slain, and to remit house-rents to the returning scholars. The citizens had to remit half the rents of their hostels for the next ten years, and to pay 52*s.* yearly for the use of poor scholars to the Abbot of Osney and Prior of St. Frideswide, and feed a hundred poor scholars with bread, ale, and pottage, and one large dish of fish or flesh yearly on the feast of St. Nicholas. In 1219 the city agreed with the Abbey of Eynsham that it should undertake this payment, and an Eynsham deed of that year is one of the earliest University documents. It is still paid yearly by the Crown.

It will be convenient here to notice the religious orders which powerfully influenced both University and City. In the thirteenth century the mendicant orders established themselves in Oxford. The Black Friars (Dominicans, or Friars Preachers), who addressed themselves more to the upper classes, settled about 1221 in the heart of the Jewry, but in 1259 sold most of their ground to the Jews, and moved to a new site at the end of Speedwell Street, in an island of the Thames, where the church of their great convent was consecrated in 1262, near Preachers' Bridge—a bridge leading over Trill Mill stream; and the two mills on the stream were theirs. On the north side of this bridge were the Grey Friars (Franciscans, or Friars Minor), who devoted themselves to the poorer class, and to the people not included in the guilds, who lived under the

city wall in the suburb near St. Ebbe's. They were town missionaries on the voluntary system, barefooted and bareheaded, and wrapped in coarse gowns, who boldly recognised human equality, so that the clergy complained of their popular style of preaching. At first they worked a considerable moral reformation, and the tradition left by them in literature is marked in 'Romeo and Juliet,' where the good Friar Laurence is a Franciscan. On November 1, 1224, two years before the death of St. Francis, two of them—Richard of Intworth (? Inceworth) and Richard of Devon—started from London for Oxford. About eventide they arrived at a grange belonging to the monks of Abingdon, in a vast wood between Bath and Oxford, and, as the floods were out, asked hospitality, lest they should perish from hunger and the wild beasts of the wood. The prior took them for mummers and would not let them in, but a young monk put them into a hayloft and brought them bread and beer. In the night he had a dream. St. Benedict pleaded before the Divine Judge, 'This prior is the destroyer of my order, for I gave directions in my rule that the abbot's table should always be filled with guests.' Then the Judge commanded the monks to be hanged on the elm which stood in their cloister. The story represents the hostility between the new orders of friars and the older orders of monks. Henry III. gave the Franciscans a piece of land, and Robert the Mercer let them a house, where many bachelors entered their ranks. Other citizens made donations to the city for their use. At first their houses were small and unadorned, but their rulers in vain opposed the natural tendency to build, and the

wish of some to devote themselves to learning—both of them tendencies much disliked by St. Francis himself. In 1244 Henry III. granted them, 'for the greater quiet and security of their habitation, that they might enclose the street that lies under the wall from the Watergate (Southgate) in St. Ebbe's to the little postern in the wall towards the castle, but so that a wall with battlements, like to the rest of the wall of Oxford, be made about the dwelling, beginning at the west side of Watergate, and reaching southward to the bank of the Thames, and extending along the bank westward as far as the land of the Abbot of Bec in the parish of St. Bodhoc, and then turning again to the northward till it joins with the old wall of the borough, by the east side of the small postern.' In 1245 he made a further grant. 'We have given the Friars Minor our island in the Thames, which we bought of Henry, son of Henry Simeon, granting them power to build a bridge over the arm of the Thames (Trill stream), which runs between the island and their houses, and enclose the island with a wall.' Agnellus of Pisa, the first Provincial of the order in England, built a school in the Fratry of Oxford, and persuaded Robert Grostête to lecture there. Grostête, the great reforming bishop of Lincoln, was a friend of Simon de Montfort, as was Adam Marsh (de Marisco), the first of the order who lectured at Oxford. The Franciscan schoolmen gave the University a European reputation, for Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William Occam were trained by them. At last their domains became larger than those of any other convent, except Osney and St. Frideswide's.

The White Friars, or Carmelites, had come to Oxford in 1254, and, after occupying part of the site of Worcester College, left it to the Benedictine monks of Gloucester, and settled in Beaumont Palace, which Edward II. gave them after Bannockburn. Benedictines also held Durham Hall (on the site of Trinity), and Archbishop Chichele founded St. Bernard's (on the site of St. John's) for Bernardine monks, a branch of the Cistercians. In Durham Hall was the first public library of Oxford, described to us in Richard of Bury's 'Philobiblon.' Bury, Bishop of Durham (1333–45), was the greatest book collector in England, and he ordered that his library should be free to all scholars. A register was to be kept, and a yearly visitation held. There was good reason for this. He had in the noblest monasteries of England found precious volumes defiled and injured by mice and worms, and abandoned to moths. Many Benedictine convents in the country used to send up scholars to study; and the staircases on the left, as you go down through Worcester to the gardens, are old Benedictine hostels, with the half-defaced arms of convents, such as the griffin of Malmesbury and the cross of Norwich, still visible over the doorways. Gloucester House (now Worcester) was founded by John Giffard in 1283 for thirteen student-monks of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester. So Canterbury College was founded by Archbishop Islip in 1363 for the Benedictines of Canterbury. The rule in Benedictine and Augustinian monasteries was to send up about one in twenty of their number.

The regular canons of St. Austin had St. Mary's

College, west of Northgate Street, in the fifteenth century. Austin Friars or Eremites occupied part of the site of Wadham, and as they were pre-eminent for their grammar schools, they appear to have succeeded in drawing to themselves much of the grammatical training of the place. Each religious house now had a school for every purpose, for grammar as well as for the higher faculties, independent to a great extent of the University, and yet a part of it, and subject to its general regulations, and partaking of its privileges.

The Orders were therefore well represented in Oxford, and not unfrequently came into conflict with the University. They stimulated mental life at first, yet their enemies may have exaggerated their merits when they objected to them that they excited and puzzled the minds and feelings of the youth with all kinds of new learning, and endangered the orthodox course of science, and of the Universities themselves. The University looked on them as grasping bodies, always seeking for peculiar favours and privileges, and fond of appealing to the Pope on all occasions. The Orders also enticed young boys to join them in what men thought an unfair manner. And in no long time their fervent zeal passed away, and many joined their ranks in order to procure an easy livelihood, so that they lost the popular favour which had caused their rapid rise. Roger Bacon complains that they withstood the progress of true knowledge no less than the clergy.

The religious houses had great influence over the poor by the amount of charitable funds at their disposal, and in some cases they had even the control of the popular fairs. The fair of St. Frideswide, whose

memory was kept up till lately by an annual cakestall in St. Aldate's, lasted for seven days, 10–16th July (afterwards 18–24th October). During the continuance of this great fair the custody of the city was given up into the hands of the monastery, the town courts were closed in favour of the Piepowder court, held by the steward of the priory for the redress of all disorders committed in the fair, and the keys of the city gates were given over by the mayor to the prior. But by the Stuart times the fair had fallen almost to nothing, though the city had bought from the Crown the right to hold it for fifteen days within the precincts of the Guildhall. Similarly the Austin, or May fair, 5-9th May, granted by Edward IV. to the Austin Friars (at Wadham), came into the hands of the city, and gradually perished. Fairs were important when the housewife laid in her stores at them, and when they were some of the chief amusements of the year; but they naturally went out of use when men amused themselves otherwise, and the housewives' demands could be satisfied daily at regular shops. A fair on Gloucester Green, granted by Elizabeth, also came to nothing. At present St. Giles's wake is kept on the Monday after the 1st of September, St. Giles's Day, but the shows and stalls are mainly attractive to crowds of country people.

Nothing but a few *schools*, or lecture rooms, existed at this time. Afterwards the Abbot of Osney built fourteen schools, out of the thirty-two in School Street—a street that ran along the present front of Brasenose. The students found lodgings in private houses, and in inns or hostels—the English and French words respectively for lodging-houses. Another name for them was

entries. A hostel was usually a private house hired by a group of students that they might live together more economically; and the senior man among them, who was responsible to the landlord for the rent, and to the University for the good conduct of his men, gradually came to be called the Principal. The hostel was named after the owner, or from its having an elm by it, or a well, or its being at a corner of the street, or being tiled, or leaded, or thatched, or having a chimney (a rare thing, when there was usually a charcoal fire in the centre of the room, with a louvre above it, to carry off the smoke), or from having a sign such as the Eagle or the Swan. There are still not a few remains of these hostels. The Star inn, now the Clarendon, was built on the site of one, and the richly-carved wooden gables were visible in the house next to it. The Roebuck was once Coventry Hall. The Mitre preserved traces of Burwaldscote Hall. The Angel had similar traces, but the Angel itself has now given place to the New Schools. Many students, however, still lodged singly in private houses. Chaucer's *poor scholar* lodged with a carpenter who worked for the Abbot of Osney. He was not badly lodged.

> A chamber had he in that hostelrie,
> Alone, withouten any compagnie,
> Ful fetisly ydight with herbes sote. . . .

The taste for sweet herbs and flowers has come back in our own day. In the inventories of scholars' rooms we once or twice find a pet bird mentioned, sometimes a musical instrument. But in the statutes of Queen's, 1340, the use of musical instruments is forbidden be-

cause they lead to levity, and distract men from their studies.

Before the charter granted by Henry III. in 1268, houses were let to the clerks by citizens on their own terms, extortionate terms as the scholars said; but afterwards the clerks had it more their own way, and the city complains to the king in 1290 that the chancellor and scholars will not allow the townsmen to let their houses for a less term than ten years. Repeated attempts were made to regulate rents by joint committees of *Taxors*, chosen from the two corporations jointly, but complaints did not cease on either side. In 1421 the king, alarmed at the frequent violations of the peace at Oxford, issued an ordinance which required all scholars and servants *of years of discretion* to be under some sufficient principal. The University complains in 1432 that grave crimes are committed by scholars, falsely so-called, known under the evil name of *chamberdekenys* (in camera degens), who live in no hall, but sleep away their days, and pass their nights in riot and debauchery, crime and violence. The early matriculation oath was merely an engagement to *keep the peace*. All this was one of the chief reasons which finally led to the complete success of the collegiate organisation, and the suppression of this *unattached* system.

The collegiate system had begun as early as Henry III.'s reign. His chancellor, Walter de Merton, in 1264 obtained a charter from the king to incorporate the 'scholars of Merton,' living at Malden, in Surrey, into an independent society. He had previously assigned some manors to the Priory of Merton, in Surrey, for the support of scholars 'residing at the schools,' or, as we

should say, exhibitioners at the university. But later on he had a further idea, to gather them together in one house, under proper discipline, and in 1274 he transferred the whole establishment to Oxford; and settled them on a freehold which he bought of the abbey of Reading, with the advowson of St. John's parish church attached to it. Several parish churches were in a similar way attached to later colleges, and this made the connexion still closer between City and University. Merton founded his college as a means of bringing up students, peacefully and carefully, for the service of God in Church and State. His plan excluded the monastic influence altogether. No 'religious' person, that is monk or friar, was to be admitted on his foundation at all. His aim was to establish a constant succession of poor and diligent students, bound to employ themselves in the study of arts or philosophy, theology or canon law, or even civil law. The number of scholars was to be regulated by the revenues of his college, and ought to have been gradually increased. Each was to receive about a shilling a week for his commons, live at a common table, and wear a uniform dress. In every *chamber* (hence the word *chum*) one older scholar was to be a sort of monitor over the rest—for three or four lived in a room together, with little off-rooms, often only wooden partitions, for studies (*musea*). The warden and the eight or ten seniors might make new statutes, to suit altered times. The Merton statutes were largely copied in those of later colleges, and were the basis of the statutes of Peterhouse, the earliest college at Cambridge. The first statutes of University College date from 1280; but William of Durham, the founder,

had left 310 marks in 1249 to the University to support ten or twelve poor masters from Durham at Oxford; and, if we could date the college from that year, it would be older than Merton. The first ordinance of Balliol dates from 1282, Exeter was founded in 1314, Oriel in 1326, Queen's in 1340.

In 1386 William of Wykeham founded New College —literally the *new* college, for the other colleges since Merton probably had only small buildings, or were merely collective sets of small halls. Wykeham says that he had 'diligently examined and considered the various rules of the religious orders, and had compared them with the lives of their several professors; but that he had been obliged with grief to declare, that he could not anywhere find that the ordinances of the founders, according to their true design and intention, were at present observed by any of them.' To his foundation he attached a Latin school at Winchester, the pupils of which were afterwards to enter the college—the school had seventy free scholars. This afterwards served as a model for King's College, Cambridge, and the Latin school at Eton; and partly for Wolsey's foundations at Ipswich and Oxford.

These seven then may be called the first group of colleges. They were essentially *civil*, not *ecclesiastical*, corporations, although some of their members were ecclesiastics, and they had some clerical privileges. The pupils or boarders (*commoners* at Oxford, *pensioners*—i.e. payers—at Cambridge), whose payments formed one source of the college revenues, at last outnumbered the other members, and the colleges were thus, in principle, lodging and boarding houses under special regulations.

It was not at first intended to accept of such inmates, but it soon became the practice, especially when all pupils were forced to enter some college or hall. And similarly it was not intended that the fellows should remain on after a certain time; they were to pass rapidly through the university training into active life, and do service to their country. The colleges were by no means isolated from the city, for outside their walls were parents and relations of some of the scholars, and the servants and chorister-boys came from the college estates or were sons of tradesmen in the town. Citizens and workpeople often dined at the common table.

The education given was practical, and suited to the wants of the country. Latin was necessary at a time when even the accounts of a manor were kept in that tongue; it was the common language of Europe, and almost the sole language of literature—since the vernacular tongues were as yet very imperfectly developed. The University was thus a kind of High School. A statute of the thirteenth century orders the Latin to be construed in English and French alternately, lest French should be dropped altogether. Masters who kept grammar schools at Oxford were ordered in 1447 to pay annually two marks to the University, and in 1478 an order was made that if any free grammar schools should be endowed at Oxford, they should be exempt from this payment, as an inducement to encourage such desirable endowments.

The citizens' sons were educated in such schools, as we shall see further on; but the grammar teachers of the middle age did not treat the boys kindly. Erasmus, in his 'Praise of Folly,' singles them out as 'a race of

men the most miserable, who grow old in penury and filth in their schools—*schools*, did I say? *prisons! dungeons!* I should have said, among their boys, deafened with din, poisoned by a fetid atmosphere; but, thanks to their folly, perfectly self-satisfied, so long as they can bawl and shout to their terrified boys, and box, and beat, and flog them, and so indulge in all kinds of ways their cruel disposition.' And elsewhere Erasmus says: 'What can such masters do in their schools but get through the day by flogging and scolding? I once knew a divine, and intimately too, a man of reputation [it has been unjustly supposed that he is alluding to Colet], who seemed to think that no cruelty to scholars could be enough, since he would not have any but flogging masters. He thought this was the only way to crush the boys' unruly spirits, and to subdue the wantonness of their age. Never did he take a meal with his flock without making the comedy end in a tragedy. So at the end of the meal one or another boy was dragged out to be flogged. . . . I myself once was by, when after dinner, as usual, he called out a boy, I should think about ten years old. He had only just come fresh from his mother to school. His mother, it should be said, was a pious woman, and had especially commended the boy to him. But he at once began to charge the boy with unruliness, since he could think of nothing else, and must find something to flog him for, and made signs to the proper official to flog him. Whereupon the poor boy was forthwith flogged then and there, and flogged as though he had committed sacrilege. The divine again and again interposed, *That will do, That will do*, but the inexorable

executioner continued his cruelty till the boy almost fainted. By-and-bye the divine turned round to me and said, He did nothing to deserve it, but the boy's spirits must be subdued.' Rabelais' noble protest against flogging children has special force from the time at which it was written. It was in vain that later on Montaigne advocated teaching *without flogging and without tears*—still more vainly did he plead that the knowledge of Latin and Greek is bought by us at too dear a cost of time.

One object of the colleges was to help the education of the poor, and Oxford was a stronghold of popular feeling. It has been Conservative since, because the students belong to a different class. At New College there was a common table where all kinds of guests dined with the fellows in the simple fashion of those times. We read in the Kitchen Book of 1398 :—'On Sunday came two Friars Minors to dine with the fellows, also the farmer of Heyford. On Thursday two tilers came to dine with the fellows. . . two tilers came to supper and two paviours of Nettylbed.' In 1407, 'on Friday came two women of Hornchirche to dine with the fellows. On Monday a woman came to dine with the fellows, who fitted the albs and the boardcloths.' At Oriel, in 1410, we find 'for a breakfast given to the Bailiffs of Oxford and their wives in the Provost's chamber, in Lent, 10*s.* 8½*d.*' Wheat was under six shillings the quarter, and we must allow a quarter for each man during the year. Meat was a farthing a pound. Cheese over a halfpenny a pound. Eggs costs 4½d. for the long hundred, i.e. 120. French wine a little over a penny a gallon, mild ale 1*d.*, best

ale $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; onions, leeks, mustard, and peas occur, though rarely. Salt was $6\frac{5}{8}d.$ the bushel; it had to be brought up the Thames from the salt-pans on the coast. Owing to this general poverty charitable people founded *chests* from which loans might be made to poor scholars. Grostête began the system in 1240 by issuing an ordinance regulating St. Frideswide's Chest, which received the fines paid by the citizens; and we hear on the whole of about two dozen of these charitable funds, amounting in all to nearly 2,000 marks—a sum which was probably kept in the old Congregation House, that formed part of St. Mary's, and in the Solar or chamber above it, then used as the University library. The money was lent out on security of books, plate, or other property, and it was in fact a pawnbroking business which charged no interest.

The number of the boys and men at this high school or university was large, but the number of 30,000, which is sometimes given, is inconsistent with the size of the place, the state of the country, and the possibility of procuring provisions. Matthew Paris states the number in 1209 at 3,000. Of grown-up students there were probably never so many as at present, when the railways have made the place more accessible. In the middle ages the boys were brought up by carriers or *fetchers*, who had a regular route which they took every year, about the beginning of October when the University year commenced; and the journey would only cost $5d.$ a day for each boy, and perhaps not more than $3d.$ for the very poor. The boys could not go home so often as now, but had lectures in the Long Vacation on natural science. The rent of a room was about $2s.$ $6d.$

a term. When he left the student walked or rode home. If he was very poor he begged his way, and was often a nuisance to the farmers and others at whose door he sought alms. At last it was found necessary by Parliament to enact that no scholar shall beg on the highways until the chancellor has satisfied himself of the merits of the case, and granted a certificate. Thus, in 1461, Dennis Burnell and John Brown, poor scholars of Aristotle's Hall, had official testimonials sealed, allowing them to ask alms. Sir Thomas More, an old Oxford man, after his dismissal from office, said to his children, 'If that exceed our ability [the fare of New Inn at London, where he had studied], then will we the next year after descend to Oxford fare, where many great and learned and ancient fathers be continually conversant; which if our power stretch not to maintain neither, then may we yet, like poor scholars of Oxford, go a begging with our bags and wallets, and sing *Salve Regina* at rich men's doors.' Similarly Luther says, 'Let no one in my presence speak contemptuously of the poor fellows who go from door to door, singing and begging bread *propter Deum*. I myself was once a poor mendicant, seeking my bread at people's houses, particularly at Eisenach'—where he was at the free school.

The dress of the scholars may have been copied from that of the Benedictines. The Master's hood could be brought over the head for a covering; now it is a mere ornament. But the fashion of wearing it slung loose is at least as old as the effigies of the four monks who kneel in the stone doorway of the fifteenth-century screen of the founders' chantry in the south-west

transept of Lincoln Cathedral. In Loggan's plate of University dresses, 1672, the servitor, battellar, undergraduate-commoner, and gentleman-commoner wear limp round caps, with the crown falling down close on the brim. But an undergraduate on the foundation would wear a square cap without a tassel. In Hogarth's engraving of the *Publick Lecture on Datur vacuum*, among the audience, who are depicted as specimens of stolidity and empty-headedness, the older men wear little square caps with tufts, the undergraduates round caps.

The charter of Henry III. in 1248 protects scholars from injury by the burgesses, under heavy penalties on bailiffs, aldermen, and the whole community ; and orders that the Jews shall not take more than twopence a week for a pound, and proportionably for smaller sums.

The scholars were divided into Northern and Southern *nations*, and the animosity between them made it necessary that one of the proctors should always be a South and the other a North countryman, a distinction which lasted down to 1540. The Halls may have had in many cases a national character. The Irish and Welsh usually sided with the Southerners, the Scotch with the Northerners; and in 1385 the king prohibited the custom of calling students in contempt 'Scotchmen.' In 1389 the Northerners sacked several Halls, and much ill-treated the Welsh. In 1401 the Irish had a riot of their own, and they were mostly banished in 1422.

The University, like the city, had its legal machinery. None of its members could be tried, in the first instance, in any other than the University court; any

culprit might have an advocate, and he might appeal to the congregation of masters. The Chancellor was a justice of the peace, could imprison, banish from Oxford, fine, and excommunicate. Over the townsmen he had a sort of joint jurisdiction with the mayor. His court was held at his own house, or occasionally at St. Mary's, and the proctors were his assessors. They are mentioned as early as the charter of 1248, but the statute of 1322, defining their functions as justices and officers of the peace for the University, seems to show that their office was then reformed and enlarged. The 'Chronicon Angliæ,' under 1377, speaks of the Oxford *proctors or rectors*, which may remind us of the Rector of the Universities abroad, an officer who does not occur at Oxford. At Paris there were four proctors for the four *nations* (French, English, Norman, and Picard), and later on a Rector of the Masters of Arts, independent of the three higher faculties.

Sometimes an accused person cleared himself before the Chancellor by *compurgation*—i.e. he took an oath that he was innocent, and a number of his friends, properly twelve, swore that they believed his oath, so that they acted as witnesses to character. But this led to much perjury at a time when national and clan feeling was strong. Dr. Gascoigne, in Henry VI.'s reign, says parties have not only perjured themselves, but admitted privately that they had done so; and that no one dared object to another being admitted to compurgation, since he knew that such an objection would render him liable to violence and maiming at the least, if not murder.

Another mode of trial was by arbitration. The

parties had to name one or sometimes two arbitrators, and bind themselves under a heavy penalty to abide by their decision, and if they could come to no decision, then by the decision of some other specified arbitrator. Thus in 1445 John Godsond, stationer, and John Coneley, *lymner*, both members of the University, referred their dispute to two arbitrators, and, on their failing to settle it, Chancellor Gascoigne decided that Coneley was to work for Godsond only, for a whole year, for the wages of four marks ten shillings, and himself both fetch his work and return it to the house of his employer, and be thrifty in the use of his colours, and his employer should have free access to the place where he sat at work. In the case of a dispute between certain members of White Hall and Deep Hall, the arbitrator decided that they were to forgive each other, and that each party was to buy a flagon (*lagena*, perhaps a gallon) of wine, and shake hands before leaving the spot.

The rivalry of Town and Gown led not only to endless bickerings, but also not seldom to serious conflicts. The city and part of the students sided with De Montfort against Henry III. When young Edward was passing by Oxford in 1263, the gates were shut against him, and the result is thus described by Robert of Gloucester, who was probably an eyewitness of the scene :—

> His way he nome by Oxenford, but the burgesses anon
> The gates made against him of the town each one.
> He went and lai withoute town, atte kinges halle,
> And went forth amorrow with his men alle.
> The gates, when he was went, were alle up brought
> Soon, but Smithe gate, but that was undone not.

The clerkes had therethrough much solace ilore
To play toward Beumond, annoyed they were therefore.
The bailif they bid oft, to grant their solace,
To play and undo that gate, but for nought it was.
So that a few wild hinds a light plan therof nome
And a day after meat with axes thither come,
And that gate to-hew and to-dashed there
And after through Beumond to Harewell it bare
And *subvenite sancti* fast began to sing,
As man doth when a dead man men will to pitte bring.
Willam the Spicer, and Geffray of Hencsei that then were
Portreven, and Nicole of Kingestone that was mayor,
Nome of these clerkes, and in prison cast,
And would them not deliver, yet the Chancellor prayd fast.
The clerkes were wroth, the burgesses were so bold
And threatened to nime more, and of their wrath little told.
The first Thursday in Lent the burgesses were well fers,
And, the while men were atte meat, areared two banners,
And went them forth armed with all their power there,
To defoul all the clerkes, ere they iware were.
As they came against All Halwen with power so strong,
At Seinte Marie churche a clerc the common bell rong.
Those clerkes up from their meat, and to Godes grace truste,
And saw that they were shent, but they the better them wuste,
They met with those burgesses and began to shoot fast.
Iwounded there was many one, but the burgesses atte laste
They began to flee fast, them thought long ere,
So that the clerkes had the stretes soon clear.
The bowyers' shops they broke, and the bowes nome each one
Afterwards the Portreves houses they set afire anon,
In the south half of the town, and afterwards the Spicerie
They brake from ende to other, and did all to robberie.
For the mayor was vintner, they brake the Vintnerie
And all other in the town, and that was little masterie.
They cast away the dosils, that wine ran abroad so,
That it was pity great, of so much harm ido.
Therefore when the king came and wist such trespas,
Alle the clerkes out of the town he drove for that case
Nor before after Michaelmasse they came no more there.[1]

[1] Ilore = lost, nome = took, wuste = defended, ido = done, fers = fierce, dosils = spigots.

Smith Gate was also made memorable by the students' defence of it when Roger Mortimer tried to surprise the place in 1326. But Edward II. was then deserted by the nation, and Queen Isabella came from Islip and lodged at the White Friars while the Mortimers stayed at Osney. The townsmen and scholars took advantage of the general disorder to join the people of Abingdon in attacking the monastery there, in 1327. That the monks were unpopular we see later on from Langland's poem concerning Piers Plowman, where he makes Reason preach that there shall come a king who shall dissolve the monasteries. He says in his rude alliterative metre—

> For the abbot of Abingdon and the abbess his niece
> Shall have a knock on their crowns, and incurable the wound.

The mayor and burgesses of Oxford almost anticipated Henry VIII. They burnt the muniments of the abbey, sacked the place, and forced the monks to formally resign all their rights over the town of Abingdon. The sheriff was at once sent with archers from the forests of Windsor, Shotover, and Chiltern to restore order, and the malefactors were punished, but the loss to the abbey was very great.

Still more serious was the great affray on St. Scholastica's day, Tuesday, February 10, 135$\frac{4}{5}$. Wood describes it thus:—'On Tuesday came Walter de Springheuse (Rector of Hameden in the diocese of Bath and Wells), Roger de Chesterfield, and other clerks to the tavern called Swyndlestock (the Mermaid tavern at Carfax), and there calling for wine, John de Croydon, the vintner, brought them some, but they disliking it,

and he avouching it to be good, several snappish words passed between them. At length the vintner giving them stubborn and saucy language, they threw the wine and vessel at his head. The vintner therefore receding with great passion, and aggravating the abuse to those of his family and neighbourhood, several came in, encouraged him not to put up the abuse, and withal told him they would faithfully stand by him. Among these were John de Bereford, owner of the said tavern by a lease from the town [he had been Mayor], Richard Forester and Robart le Lardiner (one of the bailiffs), who out of propensed malice seeking all occasions of conflict with the scholars, and taking this abuse for a ground to proceed upon, caused the town bell at St. Martin's to be rung, that the commonalty might be summoned together in a body. Which being begun, they in an instant were in arms, some with bows and arrows, others with divers sorts of weapons. And then they, without any more ado, did in a furious and hostile manner suddenly set upon divers scholars, who at that time had not any offensive arms, no, not so much as anything to defend themselves. They shot also at the Chancellor of the University, and would have killed him, though he endeavoured to pacify them and appease the tumult. Further, also, though the scholars at the command of the Chancellor did presently withdraw themselves from the fray, yet the townsmen thereupon did more fiercely pursue him and the scholars, and would by no means desist from the conflict. The Chancellor, perceiving what great danger they were in, caused the University bell at St. Mary's to be rung out, whereupon the scholars got bows and arrows, and

maintained the fight with the townsmen till dark night, at which time the fray ceased, no one scholar or townsman being killed or mortally wounded or maimed.

'On the next day, albeit the Chancellor caused public proclamation to be made in the morning, both at St. Mary's Church in the presence of the scholars, and also at Quatervois among the townsmen, that no scholar or townsman should wear or bear any offensive weapons or assault any man. . . . The ballives of the town had given particular warning to every townsman at his respective house in the morning, that they should make themselves ready to fight with the scholars against the time when the town bell should ring out, and also given notice before to the country round about, and had hired people to come in, and assist the townsmen in their intended conflict with the scholars. In dinner time the townsmen subtilly and secretly sent about fourscore men, armed with bows and arrows and other manner of weapons, into the parish of St. Giles in the north suburb; who, after a little expectation, having discovered certain scholars walking after dinner in Beaumont (being the same place we now call St. Giles's Fields), issued out of St. Giles's Church, shooting at the said scholars for the space of three furlongs. Some of them they drove into the Augustine Priory [where Wadham College now stands], and others into the town. One scholar they killed without the walls, some they wounded mortally, others grievously, and used the rest basely. All which being done without any mercy caused an horrible outcry in the town; whereupon, the town bell being rung out first and after that the University bell, divers scholars issued out armed with

bows and arrows in their own defence and of their companions, and having first shut and blocked up some of the gates of the town (lest the country people who were there gathered together in innumerable multitudes might suddenly break in upon their rear in an hostile manner and assist the townsmen, who were now ready prepared in battle array, and armed with their targets also), they fought with them, and defended themselves till after Vespertide; a little after which time entered into the town by the Westgate about two thousand countrymen with a black dismal flag, erect and displayed. Of which the scholars having notice, and being unable to resist so great and fierce a company, they withdrew themselves to their lodgings. The countrymen cried, *Slea, Slea; Havock, Havock; Smyt fast, give gode knocks.* But the townsmen finding no scholars in the streets to make any opposition pursued them, and that day they broke open five Inns or Hostles of scholars with fire and sword, crying, *By the Sun come forth.* Such scholars as they found in the said Halls or Inns they killed or maimed or grievously wounded. Their books and all their goods which they could find they spoiled, plundered, and carried away. All their victuals, wine, and other drink they poured out; their bread, fish, &c., they trod under foot. After this the night came on and the conflict ceased for that day, and the same even public proclamation was made in Oxon in the King's name, "that no man should injure the scholars or their goods under pain of forfeiture." The next day, being Thursday (after the Chancellor and some principal persons of the University were set out towards Woodstock to the King, who had sent for them thither),

no one scholar or scholar's servant so much as appearing out of their houses with any intention to harm the townsmen, or offer any injury to them (as they themselves confessed), yet the said townsmen, about sunrising, having rung out their bell, assembled themselves together in a numberless multitude, desiring to heap mischief upon mischief, and to perfect by a more terrible conclusion that wicked enterprise which they had begun. This being done, they, with hideous noises and clamours, came out and invaded the scholars' houses in a wretchless sort, which they forced open with iron bars and other engines; and entering into them, those that resisted and stood upon their defence (particularly some chaplains) they killed, or else in a grievous sort maimed. Some innocent wretches, after they had killed, they scornfully cast into houses of easment, others they buried in dunghills, and some they let lie above ground. The crowns of some chaplains, viz., all the skin so far as the tonsure went, these diabolical imps flayed off in scorn of their clergy. Divers others whom they had mortally wounded they haled to prison, carrying their entrails in their hands in a most lamentable manner. They plundered and carried away all the goods out of fourteen Inns or Halls, which they spoiled that Thursday. They broke open and dashed to pieces the scholars' chests, and left not any moveable thing which might stand them in any stead; and which was yet more horrid, some poor innocents that were flying with all speed to the Body of Christ for succour (then honourably carried in procession by the Brethren through the town for the appeasing of this slaughter) and striving to embrace and come as near as they could to the

repository wherein the glorious Body was with great devotion put, these confounded sons of Satan knocked them down, beat, and most cruelly wounded. The crosses also of certain Brethren (the Fryers), which were erected on the ground for the present time with a *procul hinc ite profani*, they overthrew and laid flat with the cheynell. This wickedness and outrage continuing the said day from the rising of the sun till noontide, and a little after, without any ceasing, and thereupon all the scholars (besides those of the Colleges) being fled divers ways, our mother the University of Oxon, which had but two days before many sons, was now almost forsaken and left forlorn.'

About forty scholars seem to have been killed, and among the names are those of not a few Irishmen. The Bishop of Lincoln at once put the town under an interdict, and the King issued a commission to five judges to inquire into the whole matter. They removed the sheriff of the county for his negligence, the mayor and bailiffs were sent to the Tower, and others chosen in their place. The University and city resigned their privileges into the hands of the King. On June 27, Edward III. gave the University a charter continuing their old liberties, and added some that he had taken away from the town, so that they now had in their hands the assize of bread, wine and ale, the supervising of measures and weights, the sole cognisance of forestallers and regraters, the correction of victuals, with all fines and amercements (bad victuals were to be given to the Hospital of St. John, founded by the King's father), the sole power of cleansing the streets, and of collecting the tax called *Quotae* from scholars'

servants. Further, the city had to restore the goods of all scholars wherever found, and pay down 250*l.* for damages. It was not till 1357 that the interdict was fully taken off, and then only on condition that the commonalty should celebrate an anniversary on St. Scholastica's day in St. Mary's for the souls of the clerks and others killed in the conflict. The mayor and bailiffs and threescore of the chiefest burghers were to appear personally and, at their own charges, have mass celebrated for the souls of the slain, and offer at the great altar each one penny, of which oblation forty pence should be given to forty poor scholars by the hands of the proctors, and the residue to the curate. Under Elizabeth this was changed for a sermon or Communion, with the old offering of a penny, and afterwards changed into the ordinary service. John de Bereford had been mayor several times. The inscription on his brass in All Saints ran thus :—

> John de Bereford et Agnes sa primier feme gycent icy,
> Dieu de lour almes eit mercy,
> Qui pour l'alme de dit John priera
> VI^{c} xx jours de pardoun avera.

From the time of this riot the University steadily grew in power. In 1390 Richard II. gave a charter confirming the Chancellor's right to take cognisance of all personal pleas, within and without the walls of Oxford, where a scholar was a party. In 1401, Henry IV. extended the Chancellor's jurisdiction to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, to Botley, Godstow, and Bagley.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION.

Wiclifism—The Second Group of Colleges—The Tudor Age—Relations with the City—Queen Elizabeth's Visits.

A GREAT change took place in the fourteenth century. The French language was now going out of use, and English recovered its supremacy. We are come to the age of Chaucer, the English court poet, and of Langland, the popular poet, of Shipton-under-Wychwood near Oxford, and of Wiclif, the Oxford teacher, our first popular writer in prose. Ranulph Higden, of Chester, in his 'Polychronicon'—which from Edward III.'s time became the standard book on general history and geography, and was translated into English by John Trevisa, under Richard II.—says:—'Children in school against the usage and manner of all other nations be compelled for to leave their own language, and for to construe their lessons in French. Also gentlemen's children be taught for to speak French from the time that they be rocked in the cradle, and uplandish men will liken themselves to gentlemen, and strive with great business to speak French for to be more told of.' 'This manner,' Trevisa adds, 'was much used before the first murrain (the Black Death

of 1349), and is since somewhat changed, for John Cornwal, a master of grammar, changed the lore in grammar school and construing of French into English. So that now, 1385, in all the grammar schools of England children leaveth French and construeth and learneth in English. Also, gentlemen have now much left for to teach their children French.'

This brings us to the period of Wiclif's influence. He was the greatest schoolman of his day, and he organised a body of *poor preachers* to show how Scripture might be preached to the poor without *mendicity*. The two forces that had built up the mediæval system, the subtlety of the schoolman and the enthusiasm of the penniless preacher, were now arrayed against it. Besides his followers in the University, Wiclif was supported by the artisans of the towns. The upper classes in England too were at first favourable to him, but they were frightened by the outbreak of the villeins in 1381, and Wiclifism lost its chance. Oxford had sided with the new views not only from attachment to Wiclif himself, but also from a wish for Church reform, a dislike to the mendicants, and a wish to uphold the independence of the University as against the Archbishop's Visitation. In 1411 Archbishop Arundel resolved to *visit* Oxford, and root out heresy. The Chancellor, Richard Courtney, and the Proctors, John Birch and Benedict Brente, resisted, on the ground that the University was exempt from any visitation; this exemption had been obtained from Boniface IX., but it was quite illegal, as the King at once decided. Prince Henry, himself trained at Oxford, was opposed to his father's policy on several points, and he mediated for the University; but

the Chancellor and Proctors were deposed. This led to a riot. John Birch and William Symon, of Oriel, helped to hold St. Mary's against the Archbishop and, notwithstanding his interdict, Birch at night took the keys, opened the doors, and had the bell rung as usual, and next day celebrated high mass there, Symon also being present. John Rote, the Dean of Oriel, said publicly, 'The Archbishop had better beware what he attempts, for when he tried to visit us before (i.e. in 1397) he was banished from the kingdom.' He also said he had heard the Archbishop say, 'Do you think that bishop over the sea, meaning the Pope, shall give away my benefices in England as he likes? No, by Saint Thomas,' insinuating that if the Archbishop did not obey his Head, they need not obey the Archbishop. He also said, 'Why should we be punished by an interdict on our church (St. Mary's belonged to Oriel) for other people's faults? The Devil go with the Archbishop and break his neck.' But the Proctors were imprisoned in the Tower of London, and the young men who were so insolent as to confront the Archbishop, and were ready to resist him with swords and bows, were corrected as truants by the rod.

There were traces of Wiclifism as late as in Henry VI.'s time. In 1431 William Warbelton petitions the Duke of Gloucester for a reward because 'on the Thursday at even next before Whitsunday the suppliant by his friends was informed how that one William Perkyns, which called himself Jack Sherp, was withdrawed into a certain place in Oxenford, wherefore he sent his servant to the Chancellor and his commissary, and also to the bailiffs of the town,

charging hem on the King's behalf to put William Perkyns under arrest and keep him safely, without bail or mainprise, by which sending Perkyns that same night was arest, and kept till execution was done of him after his desert, for which cause, as well as for other labours and costs, that he had to help cease the riot that was like to a grow in that behalf,' &c. There was danger of a Lollard rising, in which 'priests' heads were to be as cheap as sheep's.' The English Chronicle (printed by the Camden Society) says, 'There arose a man that named himself Jack Sharpe, purposing with his false fellowship to have destroyed the church and the lords spiritual and temporal. But he was taken and dampned to the death before the duke of Gloucester at Oxenforde, and drawn and hanged and quartered; and his head and his quarters were set up in divers places of England.'

The reaction against Wiclifism showed itself very distinctly when the second group of colleges was founded. Thus Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, who had at one time inclined to the new views, founded Lincoln College in 1427 expressly as 'a little college of theologians to help in ruining heresy.' Lincoln had three churches annexed to it, All Saints', St. Michael's, and St. Mildred's, and it at first used St. Mildred's as a chapel. But the church decayed and a college oratory was built with the stones. The old lane seems to have wound through the churchyard, and two crosses, still visible on the wall opposite the college gate, mark the spot where it originally came out into the Turl, before Brasenose lane was formed.

All Souls was founded for poor scholars by Arch-

bishop Chichele in 1437, partly however as a chantry where prayer might be offered by poor clerks for the souls of those who had fallen in the French war. The foundation of Magdalen was due to William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester. The stone came from the college quarries at Headington, quarries opened in Henry III.'s time. In 1481 Edward IV. came in from Woodstock to see Magdalen, and Richard III. came on a similar errand from Windsor in 1483. Waynflete ordered the college to be built 'right to a famous oak that stood on the ground.' It was supposed that the roots of this tree were injured when the walks were laid out in Charles II.'s time, but it lived till 1789. It stood at the entrance of the water-walks, and when it fell it exceeded twenty-one feet in girth, in height 71 feet, and its cubic contents were 754 feet. For more than nine feet from the ground it was a mere shell, and had for a long time been kept from falling by two or three roots 'scarcely so large as a two-inch cable.'

Oxford was concerned in the dynastic quarrel, even from the deposition of Richard II. in 1399. The nobles who were discontented with Henry IV.'s rule proclaimed a tournament at Oxford in 1400, intending to kill the King, who had promised to be present. But the plot was betrayed by Rutland (the story is told in Shakespeare); the people rose everywhere against the conspirators and tore them to pieces. Many were caught at Oxford and kept in the Guildhall till their trial, and then twenty of them were hanged and quartered at the Greenditch, which corresponded to the present thoroughfare between the Woodstock and

Banbury roads. Their heads and quarters were taken to London by some of the burghers.

A statute of the realm passed in 1421 (9 Henry V. c. 8) gives a picture of the lawless state of things. 'Whereas many clerks and scholars of Oxenford, unknown, armed and arrayed in the manner of war, have often disseised and put divers persons out of their lands and tenements in the counties of Oxford, Berks, and Buckingham, and also have hunted with dogs and greyhounds in divers warrens, parks, and forests in the same counties, as well by days as by nights, and have taken deer, hares, and conies, and moreover have threatened the keepers of the same to take away their lives; and also with a strong hand have taken clerks, convicted of felony by due process of law, out of the Ordinary's ward, and those prisoners they have brought with them, and have set them at open liberty, as the King by public complaint to him made in the parliament hath conceived. The King therefore, willing to make remedy of these things, did this year ordain that due process should be made against such scholars for their offences as the law and statutes of the land require, according to the case, till they come to answer, or else be outlawed. And if any such scholar be so outlawed, then the justices before whom such outlawry shall be returned shall certify the Chancellor of the University of the said outlawry. Which being so done, the said Chancellor shall cause him to be forthwith banished without any more ado.'

A complaint at Oriel in 1411 depicts the inner feuds of a college. Three fellows—William Symon, Robert Dikes, and Thomas Wilton—head a band of

ruffians by night, who beat, wound, and spoil men and cause murder. They haunt taverns day and night, and do not enter college before ten or eleven or twelve o'clock, and even scale the walls to the disturbance of quiet students, and bring in armed strangers to spend the night. Thomas Wilton came in over the wall at ten and knocked at the Provost's chamber, and woke up and abused him as a liar, and challenged him to get up and come out to fight him. Against the Provost's express orders, on the vigil of St. Peter, these three had gone out of college, broken the Chancellor's door, and killed a student of law. The Chancellor could neither sleep in his house by night nor walk in the High Street by day for fear of these men, till at last, in fear of his life, he resigned office. The Chancellor was resident at that time, but at the end of the fifteenth century non-resident Chancellors began to be elected, who usually held office for life. Henceforth, of course, the office of Commissary or Vice-Chancellor became more important. An abuse had also grown up by which beneficed clergymen came to live in Oxford: a few came to study, some liked the place and the living; others found it convenient that colleges, halls, inns, and entries were sanctuaries where no bailiff could distress or arrest. In 1432 a University statute fixed fines for acts of violence, over and above the usual penalty—for threats of personal violence, 12*d.*; carrying arms, 2*s.*; striking with the fist, 4*s.*; with a stone or stick, 6*s.* 8*d.*; with a knife, dagger, sword, or axe, 10*s.*; carrying a bow and shooting with evil intent, 20*s.*; collecting armed men and plotting the hindrance of justice or the infliction of personal damage, 40*s.* As this ex-

tended to townsmen, it was naturally opposed. In 1458 the town officers imprisoned a privileged person, and the Chancellor sent Stokys, the bailiff of the city, to prison 'for that his presumptuous act,' and the town in vain appealed to the King at Woodstock. There was a similar dispute in 1467, when the bailiffs delivered a man out of Bocardo whom the proctors had imprisoned.

It was a further sign of coming trouble that Robert Wright, bedell of law, was dismissed and imprisoned in 1460 for speaking outrageous words against Queen Margaret and Prince Edward. Margaret was at Coventry, a place which was Lancastrian in feeling, and the fourth city in the kingdom, and we find her demanding *Queen's gold* for the King's grants in Oxford—that is, a mark of gold for every hundred marks of silver paid to the King. The battle of Edgecote was fought near Banbury in 1469, but it is strange that Oxford was not more involved in the troubles of the war.

It was during the early part of this period that the new Divinity school was constructed—the only University building of importance erected before the Reformation. It was in St. Mary's that the scholastic exercises used to be held, that Congregation and Convocation met, that degrees were conferred, and that the archives, books and moneys of the University were preserved. A scaffold was erected for the Act, when degrees were conferred, at the east end of the nave, and miracle and mystery plays were acted in the church or churchyard. The Vice-Chancellor's Court too was held on Fridays in St. Mary's, in Adam de Brome's Chapel.

Over the school was built a library, to contain the books given by Humphry, Duke of Gloucester; this

now forms the central portion of the reading-room of the Bodleian, with its little cells and curtained cages wherein readers sit. The buttresses of the School had to be more than doubled later on by Sir Christopher Wren, to support the increasing weight of books. The catalogue of the Duke's library shows that there were seven copies of Petrarch, three of Boccaccio, and more than one of Dante, as became a scholar of the Italian Renaissance.

In the latter part of this period the imposture of Lambert Simnel originated in Oxford, through a priest called Richard Simons; and about 1489 we have a statement from Richard Hewes, the mayor, John Semand, Edward Wodeward, and John Eggecombe, aldermen, and others, stating that George Avery had been informed against by William Tayllour, innholder of Oxford, for having taken part in the late insurrection in the North, and in Flanders, and the outward parts of the realm, and joined in every trouble or insurrection that hath been in Oxford. On being arrested by one of the proctors, after three days he was discharged on bail; upon which Robert Marleton, sergeant-at-arms, determined to rearrest him for examination upon the charges, whereupon Avery took refuge in Lincoln College. While there his goods were seized for rent by the bursar of Oriel. In 1487 Henry VII. had required the University to give up Bishop Stillington, as concerned in Simnel's plot, but as it involved questions of privilege and sanctuary they hesitated for some time.

A new scene opened with the Renaissance, which drew not a few scholars, such as Grocyn, Linacre, and Colet, to Italy. We now hear of printing at Oxford.

'St. Jerome on the Creed' was printed in MCCCCLXVIII, xvii die Decembris, which would be a very early date for printing in England, but perhaps an x has dropped out after LX, and the true date may be 1478, for the next book printed is dated 1479. On his return to Oxford Grocyn began to teach Greek, and about 1496 Colet lectured on St. Paul's Epistles. In 1498 Erasmus came to Oxford to learn Greek of these men, and was hospitably received by Richard Charnock, Prior of St. Mary's College; the old gateway of the college survives still, opposite New Inn Hall. Erasmus' publication of the New Testament in Greek in 1516 made an epoch in religious history.

New foundations at Oxford marked the new impulse. The Lady Margaret professorship of divinity was instituted by Henry VII.'s mother in 1497—it was the first of the endowed professorships, for the title *Sanctae Theologiae Professor* previously meant the same as Doctor of Divinity. In 1509 Brasenose was founded on the site of an old Hall of the same name, with the sign of a brasen nose.

Corpus was founded in 1513, for more properly classical objects, by Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, on the model of the College of Three Languages at Louvain. Fox appointed three Readers for Latin, Greek, and Theology, and they were to lecture for the benefit of the whole University. The English scholars of the Renaissance brought home from Italy the knowledge of Greek, and the wish to use the knowledge as a means of getting an insight into the early state of Christian life; and this prepared the way for the Reformation. Foreign scholars also taught here. Wolsey

invited over Ludovicus Vives, a Spaniard from Valencia, and he taught at Corpus in 1528. 'A swarm of bees settled over his head under the leads of his study, at the west end of the cloister, where they continued about one hundred and thirty years. In 1630 the leads were taken up, but the bees who had never swarmed before did that spring send afar a swarm into the president's garden.' They are naturally said to have perished in the Parliamentary visitation of 1648. Vives, like Erasmus, complains of the unhealthiness of the place and the unfriendliness of the people. 'I must take care of my health, especially here, where if I were to fall ill I should be cast out upon some dung-hill, and where there would not be anyone who would regard me better than as a vile diseased dog,' and he says the climate is 'windy, dense, and damp.' Luther's writings too were soon introduced, owing to the commercial intercourse between the Eastern counties and the Low Countries. William Tyndale the Reformer was at Oxford 'from a child' (perhaps at Magdalen school), and after taking his B.A. and M.A. at Oxford in 1512 and 1515, went to Cambridge, and was there until about 1521, when he was living in Gloucestershire as a private tutor. Then, after some stay in London, he retired to Germany, where he printed his translation of the New Testament. Many copies of it appeared in England in the spring of 1526, and as it was in the popular and not in the literary dialect, it rapidly made way.

The University had been gaining ground in its contest with the city, and it was now under the special protection of Wolsey. The charter granted April 1,

1523, 'by the King himself, and with the authority of Parliament,' at Wolsey's request, did more than merely extend the powers of the Chancellor and Scholars, for it virtually placed the greater part of the city at their mercy. The only persons who, by the charter of Edward III., were to enjoy the privilege of the University were the bedells, stationers, manciples, and cooks. But the privilege had gradually been extended to all trades and all ranks, and so a large number of citizens were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the mayor, and from the rule of the common law, for the Chancellor's Court used the civil and canon law. The University now received full power to incorporate any trade, and all privileged persons were exempted from having to apply to the city for permission to carry on business. The city tradesmen were thus placed at a disadvantage, but the favoured citizens of course gained. A trial of some importance for the trade of Oxford much later on was that of the Corporation against William Taman, who, being matriculated and privileged as a barber, had tried a variety of other occupations, as a tallow chandler, an earthenware man, and a cutler. The University contended that his privilege from his matriculation entitled him to the exercise of all or any of these professions, as well as that of barber. The city relied on charters to prove that the privilege was limited to that particular trade of barber, which he was entitled to exercise as a matriculated person. The jury, with the approbation of Judge Heath, gave their verdict in favour of the city. The strongest clause in Wolsey's charter is thus summarised by Brian Twyne:—
'It is further granted that for any sentence in any

judgment, *just or unjust*, by the said Chancellor, Commissary, or his deputy, by any of them pronounced against any person, shall be holden good, *whether it be just or unjust;* and that for the same sentence, so just or unjust, the Chancellor or his deputy, or any of them, shall not be drawn out of the University for false judgment, or for the same vexed or humbled by any written commandment of the King, or any manner of meane whatsoever, nor before the King's commissioner or his justice in any court, upon pain of 20*l.* as often as,' &c.

This began a great controversy. Grievances which had hitherto only led to temporary quarrels drove the citizens, after the charter was obtained, to acts of retaliation. In 1527 the city bailiffs refused to summon a jury, and they were consequently imprisoned. In 1529 articles were drawn out and exhibited to Wolsey, as Chancellor of England, by the Chancellor and proctors; and subsequently a writ was issued to enforce the University charter, and for the appearance of the mayor and bailiffs to answer a suit in Chancery. Throughout these quarrels the city showed a strong sense of the injustice with which they were treated by those in authority, who could make law and charter at their discretion. The same year the University, not being able to obtain the assistance of the bailiffs, ordered the bedells to summon a jury for their leet, but the city bailiffs (perhaps encouraged by Wolsey's losing favour with Henry) closed the door of the Guildhall, so that the court thus summoned could not be held; a course they again tried in 1554, under Philip and Mary, when the Star Chamber issued a decree against

them, and again in 1561. Once Wolsey proposed to submit the matter to the arbitration of Sir Thomas More. But the city refused, 'for by such arbytrements in tymys past the commissary and proctors and ther officers of the University hath usurpyd and dayly usurpyth upon the towne of divers matters contrary to their composicions.' The mayor, Michael Hethe, refused to take the usual oath at St. Mary's to maintain the privileges and customs of the University, and proceedings were instituted against him. The bailiffs were also cited, and punished for closing the doors of the Guildhall, and further proceedings taken in the University Court against the mayor. He was also commanded to appear in St. Mary's Church, to answer certain articles why he should not be declared perjured and excommunicate. He answered with spirit, 'Recommend me unto your master, and shew him I am here in this town the King's Grace's lyvetenant for lack of a better, and I know no cause why I should appear before him. I know him not for my ordinary. If there be any cause concerning between the Universitie and the Towne I will be glad to meet him at a place convenient, which was assigned by my Lord of Suffolk's Grace.' He was again summoned, and the senior divinity bedell gave witness that he answered he was not one of the Commissary's servants, and had business elsewhere. He was therefore excommunicated; but the junior law bedell had to report that when he gave the letters of excommunication to Mr. Pottrel, who was then acting for the Rector of St. Ebbe's, the mayor ordered Mr. Pottrel out of the church, so as to prevent the reading of the letters. They were, however, read the next

Sunday in two churches, and Hethe had to ask for absolution. He got it, but without promising 'to stand to the law and obey the commands of the Church.'

Before the end of 1530 the town petitioned the King against the acts of the University. This petition, with the reply of the Vice-Chancellor, Martin Lindsay, gives a complete picture of the inner life and laws and customs of the place. 'The Commissary doth take fourpence for the sale of every horse-lode of freshe samon, and one penny of every *seme* of fresshe heryngs, which is exstorcyon.' In 1533 the mayor and twenty citizens were discommoned, so that 'no scholar, nor none of their servants, should buy nor sell with none of them, neither eat nor drink in their houses, under pain of, for every time so doing, to forfeit to the Commissary 6*s.* 8*d.*' Both parties at last got tired of a quarrel that had lasted twenty years. In 1542 it was referred to arbitrators, including the Duke of Suffolk, and Wolsey's charter was repealed. Under Elizabeth, however, when the University had obtained the powerful support of the Earl of Leicester as their Chancellor, the old question was reopened, and reference made to the Privy Council. The University procured an Act of Parliament (13 Eliz. c. 29), which confirmed the charter of 1523, but at the same time with a saving clause of all the liberties of the mayor and town. This of course opened the way to fresh quarrels, till, on the report of two judges, a series of orders was put forth by the Privy Council in 1575, intended to set at rest the disputes between the two bodies for ever. The leader of the opposition was William Noble, who lived in the famous old house called 'Le Swynstock,' for which he

had a wine licence, where the riot on St. Scholastica's day began. He brought a suit in the Star Chamber against the University for false imprisonment, and was so popular as to be elected member for the city in 1593. Even as late as 1886 the Act 13 Eliz. was appealed to in the case of Ginnett *v.* Whittingham, reported in the 'Times' of January 14.

But University and City were, after all, closely bound to each other, and there were benefits as well as injuries to be put into the scale. Hence we find the City petitioning the King in 1548, with reference to the action of the Commissioners for reforming the University:—'Where your poor orators have always had by the meanes of your colleges, founded by your Grace's most noble progenitors, singular treasure, help, and commodity for the education of their sons, and in especiallie the more part of us being not otherwise able to bring up our children in good learning, and to find them at grammar, whereby they may happily in time to come attain to higher knowledge of the liberal sciences of God's Holy Word, without the aid and help of colleges training our children in good letters, some being called scholars of the houses, and some called quiristers and yet learning their grammar; your said commissioners, by virtue of the aforesaid commission, to them dutied for the increase of virtue and learning, have ordained that none shall be found at grammar, nor remain quirister, within your said University at the charges of any college; whereby there be in danger to be cast out of some college thirty, some other XL. or L., some other more or fewer, and the most part of them children of your said poor orators, having of the

said college meat, drink, cloth, and lodging, and were very well brought up in learning in the common grammar school at the college of St. Marie Magdalen, and so went forward and attained to logick and other faculties at the charges of the said college, and likewise of other houses, and little or nothing at the charge of their parents after their admission into any of the said colleges; which thing hath always heretofore been a great succour unto your said poor orators—and now an utter undoing to the heavy discomfort of us and of our posterity, and diminishing of our University and the decaying thereof, unless it may please your Highness of your passing clemency to call back the said injunction, as well for the continuance of *the only school of all the shire*, as for the bringing up of our children and our posterities.' Their request, agreeing with that of Magdalen itself, was granted. Edward VI. too was particularly interested in the maintenance and foundation of grammar schools. There was need. William Bingham, who founded a grammar school attached to Clare Hall, Cambridge, says that in 1439 he passed seventy deserted schools in travelling from Hampton to Ripon by way of Coventry. In 1576 the citizens inquire about a place for a school of their own, 'and the order and rate of teaching of freemen's children.' In 1582 it is agreed that 'the schoolhouse shall be viewed, and seen what reparations are needful.' In 1658 Alderman John Nixon opened a school for forty sons of freemen. A High School was erected in 1881. But Magdalen School survives, and *quiristers* from the town may be found in not a few college chapels.

There was still a school at Osney in 1495. We have a conveyance that year by Robert, Abbot of Osney, granting to Roger Favell, clerk, of Besselesley, an honest chamber in the garden of the convent. The abbot is to find him in meat and drink, as though a canon. He in return is to receive 'the recourse of people coming to him for the sick, to instruct such novices of the place as are sent to him in grammar; to celebrate divine service at feasts; and to visit the sick when required.'

The question of taxation was another city grievance. In 1513 Henry VIII. excused the University from contributing towards the subsidy paid by Oxford; or, rather, Richard Johnson, B.C.L., proved to the King and his council that the act of the last Parliament did not apply to colleges, halls, and hostels. This threw a heavier burden on the citizens, especially as so many tradesmen shared the University privilege. Half the fifteenth levied this year amounted to 74*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* for thirteen parishes, including Binsey. In 1522 Wolsey again interceded for the exemption of the University, and this exemption was maintained until the Civil War.

The colleges had to take their share in paving the streets. Thus Corpus had to pave the street in front in 1517: 'For paving half the street from the woodyard gate by the wall of Merton College to the corner of the wall next unto Canterbury College, iii. score and ix. teasys [toises], and from the said corner to the garden gate by S. Frideswide is a wall, which containeth xlvii. teasys, the paviour to have found him stone and sand, taking for every tease vi. d.'

It was now that Wolsey founded Cardinal College. He invited over some of the most promising of the young Cambridge scholars to take part in the teaching, and it was through them that the new views spread to Oxford. When it was found that they were making converts, they were imprisoned within a deep cave underground in the college, where salt fish was stored, the stench whereof made some of them die soon after. John Taverner, the organist, was accused of hiding heretical books, yet the Cardinal pleaded for him, saying that he was but a 'musitian.' Those of other colleges that were guilty were put into Bocardo and the Castle prison. Garret, who had brought down some copies of Tyndale's New Testament in 1527, fled to Antony Dalaber's chambers at Gloucester College, which was then a long way off and with such crooked lanes between it and the main part of Oxford that he thought himself safe there, but the proctors were too keen in their search this time.

The women of Oxford took a strong part for Queen Catherine in the divorce question, and about thirty of them were imprisoned in Bocardo for three days and nights. In 1531 it was found that English books translated from other languages, suspected to be interlined with heretical pravity, were sold at St. Frideswide's Fair in October, and search was made that they might be burnt. On October 11, 1531, Robert Tayler, of Merton, gave the Vice-Chancellor, in presence of Congregation, a book of suspected heresy—a metrical dialogue between a gentleman and a husbandman. This was a rather famous book written by William Barlow, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, partly

directed against Wolsey. It stated the case of these two oppressed orders against the clergy :—

> We turmoil ourselves night and day,
> And are fain to drink whig and whey,
> For to maintain the clergy's factions.

But men move fast in times of revolution, and the suppression of the monasteries soon followed. John London writes to Cromwell on July 8, 1538: 'The White Friars have lately sold to the Abbot of Ensham an annuity of 3*l.*, and received but 40*l.* for it, which they have divided among them. They have but little ground, yet have they let it out for thirty years, and had bargained for such elms as groweth about the house, and some were delivered. Two shrewd husbands, Priors there, hath sold in manner all their jewels and plate. My lord of Develyn (Dublin), lately prior of the Augustines, felled the best trees were in their ground, and had thence much jewels, stuff, and plate to the valor, as they say, of cc. marks at the least. He left them but 3 chalices, and no other plate nor jewel. There is before Whitsuntide a Fair worth to the friars some yere 4*l.*, some yere 5*l.*, towards the costs in making their booths. The Gray Friars hath pretty ilands behind their house well wooded, and the waters be theirs also. They have impledged and sold most of their plate and jewels, forced by necessity as they say. They have taken up the pipes of their conduit lately, and have cast them in sows, to the number 67, whereof 12 be sold for the costs in taking up the pipes as the Warden saith. The Black Friars hath in their backside likewise divers ilands, well wooded. There be but ten

friars, being priests, besides the Anker,[1] which is a well-disposed man.' He asks that the Whitefriars may be given to William Banester, the present mayor (he became mayor September 29, 1537), and the Austin friary to John Pye, mayor four years previously. 'The greatest occasion of the poverty of this town is the payment of their fee-farm. Such as, before they have be bailiffs, hath be pretty occupiers, if in their yere corn be not at a high price, then they be not able to pay their fee-farm. And for the worship of their town they must that yere keep the better houses, feast their neighbours, and wear better apparel, which makith them so poor that few of them can recover again. If the town might have the Gray and Black Friars' grounds, and likewise the sites of the White and Austen friars after the decease of Mr. Banester and Mr. Pye, it would marvelously help the town, and give them great occasion to fall to clothing:[2] for upon the Gray and Black Friars' water be certain commodious places to set fulling mills upon, and so people might be set a work. Now the Baylys, forced by necessity, taketh such toll, of such as passeth by the town, as maketh men loth to come here by. And Oxford is no great thoroughfare, whereby much resort should help them.' And again August 31: 'I have caused all our four Orders of Friars to change their coats, and have dispatched them as well as I can, till they may receive their capacities, for the which I have now again sent up this bearer, Dr. Baskerfelde [Edward, Head of the Franciscans] . . . he is an honest man, and caused all his house to surrender the same, and to change their papistical garments . . . specially for him

[1] Anker = Anchorite. [2] Clothing = clothmaking

to have in his capacity an express licence to dwell in Oxford, altho he were beneficed.' . . . He also notices a local saint. 'At Merston Mr. John Schorn standeth blessing a boote, whereunto they say he conveyed the devil. He is much sought for the ague.'

Part of the later city is built out of the ruined convents. They afforded a quarry of hewn stone ready to hand; and it is now barely possible to make out where some of them stood, the very ruins have perished. But some colleges represent the old monasteries and hospitals. Durham College and St. Bernard's soon reappeared as Trinity and St. John's. The Austin Friary is the site of Wadham, Gloucester ultimately became Worcester College. The change had begun before the Dissolution. Not to speak of Wolsey's foundation, Chichele had founded All Souls mainly out of alien priories, and St. John's Hospital was merged in Magdalen. Henry gave a large part of the monastic lands at Oxford to his physician, George Owen of Merton, as well as Nun Hall and St. Alban Hall, which came into his hands on the fall of Wolsey. The new see, created out of the overlarge diocese of Lincoln in 1542, had its cathedral first at Osney, whose last abbot, Robert King (he had already been acting as a suffragan bishop), became bishop of Osney in that year. But Henry transferred the cathedral to his new college of Christ Church when he finally re-erected Wolsey's foundation of Cardinal College in 1545, and he made King the first bishop of Oxford.

The Reformers held that the system of education should be improved. Tyndale says, 'In the universities they have ordained that no man shall look at the

Scripture until he be noselled in heathen learning eight or nine years, and armed with *false principles*, with which he is clean shut out of the understanding of the Scripture. And at his first coming into University he is sworn that he shall not defame the University, whatsoever he seeth. And when he taketh first degree he is sworn that he shall hold none opinions condemned by the Church; but what such opinions be, that he shall not know. And then, when they be admitted to study divinity, because the Scripture is locked up with such false expositions, and with *false principles of natural philosophy*, that they cannot enter in, they go about the outside, and dispute all their lives about words and vain opinions, pertaining as much unto the healing of a man's heel as health of his soul; provided yet alway, lest God give his singular grace unto any person, that none may preach except he be admitted of the bishops.' In this view of the scholastic natural philosophy Bacon agrees with him, and remarks on the fetters which the University imposed on the investigation of truth. In Tyndale's letters to Frith in 1532 he urges 'that the Scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities.' Tyndale also complains of the easy way in which graces for degrees and exemptions from study were granted to all sorts of persons: 'in universities many ungracious graces there be gotten;' on which Sir Thomas More retorts, 'he should have made it more plain and better perceived if he had said, as for example, "When his own grace was there granted to be made Master of Arts."' But Gascoigne, writing in Henry VI.'s time, makes the same complaint that 'many are admitted to

their degree for money, and not for good life or knowledge.'

When the University tried to restore discipline it did so by forcing the students into colleges and halls, and preventing them as much as possible from lodging in the houses of townsmen. There were constant quarrels between the students themselves, and between them and the townsmen. In 1517, on a quarrel between the Benedictines and Cistercians, John Heynes, mayor in 1514, who thought the University had ill-treated the town in the quarrel of 1516, by the counsel of his son-in-law, Thomas Byrydall, instigated the Benedictines to attack the proctors, and 'about the silent time of the night, when the proctors were about Quatervois, four Benedictines, three seculars, and Heynes issued out of his house and set upon the proctor and his retinew and encountered them manfully.' This led to the arrest of several persons, including two canons of St. Frideswide's and a monk of Abingdon, while Heynes and his son-in-law were banished. Heynes had been unpopular with the students, who accused him of selling bad wine, and tried to set his house on fire. In 1536 we have a curious picture from the other side. 'Robert Maydeman saith that as he and a little ladde which is his brother were coming from Oseney to his house the third day of March last past, about the hour of eight of the clock in the night, met with certain scholars against St. Peter's Church in Bayly, and there did beat him; and ere that he came at Carfaxe there met him another company of scholars, and there beat him; and at Carfaxe there met him another company, and did beat him, and there lost his cap; and so

the said Robert would have taken his house, and the scholars that were in the street did put him from his dore, so that he was fain to take one William Dewys house, a botcher; and within half an hour after the said Robert came to the dore, and would have gone to his house, and there met with Edmund Shether, the proctor, going down the street with a poleaxe in his hand, and had a pair of brexen journeys on his back, and a black cloak over them, and a skoll on his head, and there desired him that he might have his cap that he lost, and therewith the proctor did thrust his poleaxe at him, but said never a word to him.' In 1520 there was a battle between the town watchmen and the students of Broadgates Hall, in which one watchman was slain and several wounded. The scholars' captain, Thomas Whem, was banished, but allowed to return next year on condition of paying a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.*, giving 1*s.* 8*d.* towards repairing the staff of the inferior Bedell of Arts, and saying three masses for the good estate of the Regent Masters and the soul of the slain watchman. The townsmen must have felt that they might be killed at small cost. In 1531 the servants of the Abbot of Osney beat the proctor and his *retinew*, and the abbot refused to give them up, on the ground that St. Thomas's parish was not in the territories or jurisdiction of the University, but of Osney. The University, however, was too strong for him.

The new views had already taken hold of the city. It is said 'by the Act of the Six Articles in 1539 but few scholars were entrapped for the present, but more of the Town party, occasioned by the information of malitious men.' We have a description of the state of things

later on in a letter from Richard Cox, Prince Edward's tutor, to Secretary Paget, October 29, 1546: 'New Testaments and Bibles (not condemned by proclamation) have been burnt, and that out of parish churches and good men's houses. They have burned innumerable of the King's majestie's books concerning our religion lately set forth, also his Primier, whereby the youth are utterly deprived of knowledge, and this also much contrary to his meaning and command. They teach the old Latin with the old ignorance, and would that printers should print them again.'

The falling off in the number of students owing to the twelve pestilences in Henry's reign and other causes hurt the trade of the town, and in 1540 an Act of Parliament (32 Henry VIII. c. 18) ordered the reparation of beautiful houses which were decayed in several towns and cities, and particularly those in Oxford, 'such, I suppose, as were ancient stone-halls, with arched dores and windows, that fell to decay, especially when they were relinquished by scholars.' Only eight Halls inhabited by students now remained, viz. Edmund Hall, St. Alban's, New Inn, Hert Hall, St. Mary's, Whitehall, Broadgates, and Magdalen. Some of these also were so empty that they were now *taxed* at a lower rate than previously, having in one ten, in another fifteen, and in a third seventeen students. The colleges had no more in them than those of the Foundation, or such that received allowance from the liberality of their respective benefactors. The diminution in numbers began before the Reformation. The University wrote to Sir Thomas More in 1523 and complained that abbots had almost ceased to send their monks to the

schools, nobles their sons, and the clergy their relations and parishioners. Three years later Dr. London, of New College, says that sixteen halls had lately been abandoned, and that the total number of scholars residing in the halls did not exceed 140.

But about this time the change at the universities made progress, by which endowments given to the poor passed into the hands of the higher classes. Harrison, writing in 1586, says: 'They were erected by their founders, at the first, *onelie for poore men's sons*, whose parents were not able to bring them up unto learning; but now they have the least benefit of them, by reason the rich do so incroach upon them. And so far hath this inconvenience spread itself *that it is in my time an hard matter for a poor man's child to come by a fellowship, though he be never so good a scholar and worthy of that room.*' The Royal Commissioners of 1549 enforced on All Souls the original conditions of poverty, which, 'since all colleges were built for the children of the poor, is to be more strictly guarded in order to prevent rich men from taking advantage of the founder's bounty.'

In fact, English society seized on the universities, and adapted them to its own wishes, and there is truth in the saying that in this matter the rich have divided the goods of the poor. Latimer says in a sermon before Edward VI., 'There be none now but great men's sons in colleges, and their fathers like not to have them preachers.' The unattached student was also tending to disappear altogether, and victuals were so dear owing to the debasement of the coinage that few poor men could live at the universities. The schools being unfrequented, four or five of them which joined to the

Divinity school were bought by certain citizens, by them pulled down and their sites made gardens. The schools of arts, rebuilt all under one roof by Thomas Hokenorton, Abbot of Osney in the time of Henry VI., were used by laundresses to dry their clothes.

During the minority of Edward VI. the rapacious courtiers plundered freely, especially in seizing the chantries and *obit*-monies, many of which were attached to the town guilds, and they succeeded in creating the reaction which gave Mary an easy victory. Latimer lifted up his warning voice against them, but Latimer warned in vain. Reaction is the protest of nature against excess, and a revulsion of feeling secured Mary's accession; but she restored the old system, and her cruelties provoked another reaction. The evil tradition of persecution handed on from the Middle Ages could not be got rid of all at once, even in Protestant churches. Persecution, too, was profitable, for the property of the victims was confiscated.

Few can read without emotion the story of the Oxford martyrs, which has given them an undying command over the hearts of their fellow-men; how, when Latimer and Ridley stood side by side at the stake, 'they brought a fagot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Ridley's feet. To whom Master Latimer spake in this manner—"Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." And Ridley cried often, "Lord, receive my spirit," Master Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, "O Father of Heaven, receive my soul." After that he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in

the fire, he soon died with very little pain or none. But Master Ridley, by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the wooden fagots were laid about the gorse, and overhigh built, the fire burned first beneath. After his legs were consumed, the upper parts were all untouched with flame, and when the flame touched the gunpowder (tied by his brother in a bag about his neck), he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Master Latimer's feet.' The horrible sight worked upon the beholders as it has worked since, and will work, while the English nation survives. It was thus that on October 16, 1555, Ridley and Latimer were burnt in Canditch, just below and opposite the lodging of the Master of Balliol. When Cranmer was burnt on March 21 following, the weakness of his previous recantation was forgotten, and his fame brightened in the fire that consumed him. 'Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space, before the fire came to any other part of his body; where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, "This hand hath offended." As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying all the while.' The bill paid by the bailiffs for his burning runs thus:—

Chardges layd out and paide for the burninge of Cranmer as followethe:—

First for a c. of wood fagots . . .	vi.s.	xi.s. iiii.d.
Halfe a hundrethe of furze faggots	iii.s. iiii.d.	
For the cariage of them . .	viii.d.	
Paid to ii. laborers . . .	xvi.d.	

But the bailiffs could not get the various bills for Mary's reign paid, and we find them still applying for payment under Elizabeth.

A King of Misrule for Christmas was elected at Merton for the last time in Mary's reign—the custom had been forbidden in the Edwardian statutes. His rule lasted till Candlemas, and the last king was Jasper Heywood, known as a poet for translating some of Seneca's plays.

Two colleges were founded in 1555—Trinity by Sir Thomas Pope, and St. John's by Sir Thomas White. Sir Thomas Pope, an Oxfordshire man, had been a favourite of Henry VIII., and had been put in charge of the Princess Elizabeth by Mary. He says in a letter: 'The Princess Elizabeth often asketh me about the course I have devised for my scholars; and that part of my statutes respecting study I have shown her she likes well. She is not only gracious, but most learned.' Two of the fellows were expelled by the President for violating one of the statutes. They applied to the Founder for forgiveness, and he kindly referred the matter to the Princess, who interceded for the two offenders, George Rudde and George Symson; on which Sir Thomas wrote to the President that at the desire and commandment of the Lady Elizabeth's grace, seconded by the request of his wife, he had consented that they should, on making a public confession of their fault and submitting to a fine, be again received, and that he was fully resolved never to do the like again to please any creature living, the Queen's Majesty alone excepted.

Sir Thomas White was admonished in a dream to

build a college where he should find three elms growing out of one root. He found them in the court of the decayed college of St. Bernard. Wood says the original tree was living in 1677, and it is believed that there is a scion of it still flourishing in the garden. He bought St. Bernard's College from Christ Church, and got a new charter for St. John's in 1557. White also left money to the corporation of Oxford for the relief of poor tradesmen.

After the violent oscillations of Edward's and Mary's reigns, England gladly accepted Elizabeth's steady rule. She sent visitors to Oxford in 1559, who for the most part restored Edward's system. The Earl of Leicester became Chancellor in 1564, and took considerable pains in restoring order and a regular course of studies. The Act of 13 Elizabeth, 1571, which incorporated both universities, was the great settlement under which they have worked down to our own day; whilst the orderly system of matriculations and degrees then introduced gave a considerable impulse to education.

Elizabeth had been imprisoned at Woodstock during her sister's reign, and some of her needlework executed there is still to be seen in the Bodleian. On Saturday, August 31, 1566, she paid a long-promised visit to Oxford, and stayed till September 6. She came by the Woodstock Road, and Leicester and the University came out to the furthest point of their liberties at Wolvercote to meet her. The mayor, aldermen, and thirteen burgesses waited for her at Summertown. 'The mayor delivered up his mace to her, which she forthwith returned; then he spoke an English speech, and presented a cup of silver, double-

gilt, worth 10*l.*, and in it about 40*l.* in old gold. This gift was the first in money that ever, as I can yet learn, was presented to a prince; for at the coming of any one to the University before this time the custom was, that the citizens should give them five oxen, as many sheep, veales, lambs, and sugar loaves.' On Sunday night there was a Latin play called *Marcus Geminus* (the story of a state trial under Alexander Severus), in Christ Church Hall, which lasted till one o'clock, but the Queen was too tired to be present. On Monday night an English play called *Palamon and Arcyte*, by Richard Edwards, was acted, when part of the stage fell and killed three persons. The rest of the play was acted on the Wednesday. The boy who played Emilia, and wore a dress belonging to the late Queen Mary, 'for gathering flowers prettily in a garden then represented, and singing sweetly, in the time of March, received eight angels for a gracious reward by her Majesty's command. On the Thursday there was a Latin play called *Progne*, but it did not take half so well as the much-admired *Palamon and Arcyte*. On the Friday the Queen went to Carfax, and along High Street to Eastgate, and so over East Bridge, where the city liberties ended; but the members of the University went on to Shotover, because that was the limit of their liberties.' It was, perhaps, one result of this visit that an Act of Parliament was passed in 1571 against purveyors, takers, badgers, loaders, and poulterers, that they shall not take a bargain for any victuals or grain within five miles of Oxon or Cambridge against the will of the owners, as it was hitherto often used, to the raising of the respective markets in the said universities. In 1633 the University

allowed carriage to be demanded within the five-mile limit to carry timber from Shotover and Stowood for the navy as far as the Thames.

The plays acted at the Universities had considerable influence on the progress of the English drama, and a number of poets, such as the two Heywoods, Richard Edwards, John Lyly, George Peele, Thomas Lodge, were Oxford men; and Cambridge could show a similar list. To these men was due the strong classical tinge which our drama received, and those who think that Shakespeare must have known Greek because he mentions the goddess Ate (who does not occur in Latin authors) forget that she occurs often in his predecessors' plays, especially in Peele. When *Dido* was acted at Christchurch in 1583 before a noble Polish scholar, Albert a Lasco, 'there was a pleasant sight of hunters, with a full cry of a kennel of hounds, and Mercury and Iris descending and ascending from and to a high place. The tempest also, wherein it rained small comfits, rosewater, and snew artificial snow, was very strange to the beholders.'

The Puritans objected to plays being performed by students, many of whom were about to take orders, especially as some of the plays were of an equivocal, or rather unequivocal, character, not to mention that they were often played on Sunday. Gerson had long ago forbidden the performance of plays at the University of Paris. The college play was far from an innocent recreation, and was sometimes made the vehicle for satire and gross personalities, especially against the townsmen, as in the play of *Club Law*, acted at Clare Hall, Cambridge, in 1597. The Latin plays, such as the famous

Ignoramus, acted before James I. at Cambridge in 1615, were even worse. With facts like these before us, the justice and reasonableness of that Puritan aversion to which Milton, in after years, gave such pregnant expression, come home to us; and the incongruities which startle us as we compare the actors and their parts in *Ignoramus* can hardly be better described than in the words of his sternly ironical reminiscence of what he himself recalled of like performances in the colleges—'of the young divines and those of next aptitude to divinity, whom he had seen oft upon the stage, writhing and unboning their clergy limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures of Trinculoes, buffoons, and bawds, prostituting the shame of that ministry which either they had, or were nigh having, to the eyes of courtiers and court ladies, with their grooms and mademoiselles.' At Oxford, where many heads of colleges were now Puritans, the feeling on this point was also represented in the city. Thus in 1580 'it is enacted and agreed at this Council that no Mayor of this city or his deputy, from henceforth, shall give leave to any player to play within the Guilde hall, or the lower hall, or in the Guilde hall court, without consent of the Council of this City first had, upon pain of forfeiture of ten pounds.' And the University followed suit in 1584 by a decree that 'it should not be lawful for the Vice-Chancellor to grant leave to players to act their plays within the precincts of the University without special leave from the Convocation.' And again: 'Upon consideration of sickness wherewith this University of late hath oftentimes been grievously visited by reason of the extraordinary con-

course of people at unseasonable times of the year to see stage plays and games, it hath been thought a matter most convenient as well for the maintaining of health among us, as also for the detaining of the younger sort from extraordinary spending more than their small exhibitions will bear, and most of all that they may not be spectatours of so many lewd and evil sports as in them are practised, that no common stage players be permitted to use or do any such thing within the precincts of the University. And if it happen by extraordinary means that stage players shall get or obtain leave, by the Mayor or other ways, yet it shall not be lawful for any Master, Bachiler, or scholar above the age of eighteen to repair or go to see any such thing under pain of imprisonment. And if any under the age of eighteen shall presume to do anything contrary to this statute, the party so offending shall suffer open punishment in S. Marie's Church according to the discretion of the Vice-Chancellor or Proctors.' A similar order had to be made in 1593, after a violent plague which 'sprung chiefly from the multitude of the people that came to Oxford about the Act time, to see certain Plays and Interludes brought from London, as also from divers Inmates received into small houses.' There are many entries in the city books after 1570 which show the development of the religious feeling. A pulpit was provided for Carfax Church, and two lecturers were to preach by turns every Sunday. The election dinner of the mayor was abolished, the bailiffs' banquet was to cease, Sundays and holy days to be strictly observed. Payments were constantly made for special services; and attendance upon the mayor when

he went to St. Mary's, Christ Church, Carfax, or any other churches was made compulsory under pain of a fine—'the city officers shall at the time of the ringing of the bell for the sermon, come together to the Pennylesse Benche, or thereabouts, and stay there until the coming of the Mayor.'

Edmund Campian of St. John's was one of those who took part in the disputations held before Elizabeth, but he became one of the leaders of the Counter-Reformation, and was hanged at Tyburn in 1581. The proceedings against the Roman Catholics became more severe as the struggle went on; and in 1589 Richard Yaxley, a priest of the secular college at Douay, George Nicolls, Thomas Belson, a gentleman, and Humphry ap Richard, a servant in the house where they lodged, were hanged, drawn and quartered at Oxford. Under James I. George Napier of Corpus was executed. He refused a pardon offered if he would take the oath of allegiance. Parts of his body were set over the gates of the city and over the gate of Christ Church.

Elizabeth's visit was also an era in the history of the quarrel between Oxford and Cambridge as to which was the oldest town and the oldest university. When the Queen was at Cambridge two years before, in 1564, William Master, the public orator, had laid stress on the superior antiquity of Cambridge to Oxford, since it dated from Cantaber, King of Spain, who had been driven out by his people and came to this island in the time of King Gurguntius. This irritated Oxford, and Thomas Key (or Caius), Master of University, wrote an 'Assertion of the Antiquity of the Academy of Oxford, of which he presented a copy to Elizabeth.

He laid stress on University College being founded by Alfred, but thought that Alfred did not so much found as restore the University, which had existed long before. But John Caius, of Cambridge, the Queen's physician, replied with great vigour, and the quarrel has lasted nearly down to our own time. The earliest reference to Alfred's founding the University is in Higden's 'Polychronicon,' written under Edward III.; 'by the council of St. Neot he was the first to establish schools for the various arts in Oxford, to which city he granted privileges of many kinds.' The college itself, when engaged in a lawsuit, presented a petition to Richard II. about 1387, in which they spoke of 'your college, called Mickil University Hall in Oxendford, which college was first founded by your noble progenitor King Alfred, for the maintenance of twenty-four divines for ever.' The case, however, had to be compromised. But from this time the Alfred story gained ground, and a still earlier date was assigned to the city itself. John Rous, a chantry priest of Warwick and once a scholar in Oxford, under Edward IV., had combined all the myths into a compact whole, and told how King Mempric founded the city B.C. 1009, but was unfortunately eaten by wolves at Wolvercot; how some Greek philosophers settled at Greeklade (i.e. Cricklade), and some Latin at Latinelade (i.e. Lechlade), before they finally moved to Bellositum (i.e. Beaumont); and how, when teaching had much decayed, it was revived by Alfred about 873, and how a church on the site of St. Giles's was the old University church, as St. Mary's was afterwards. But we need not discuss the fables of the fourteenth

and fifteenth centuries. All seek to find an heroic ancestry, and we should not be too hard on our ancestors (who were deceived by deliberate impostures) for believing that University was King Alfred's hall, Oriel his chapel, and Brasenose his brewing-house.

In 1574 an Heraldic Visitation took place, and the city arms were certified and allowed as 'Argent, an ox gules armed and unguled or, in base barry wavy of six azure and argent, the escutcheon encircled with a ribbon azure charged with four roses and four fleurs-de-lis or, placed alternately, the ribbon edged of the last.' The motto was *Fortis est veritas*. These arms were confirmed in the Visitation of 1624; it was then that the Heralds *added* the ribbon charged with roses and fleurs-de-lis, and strewed the crest also with fleurs-de-lis.

In 1575 an Act was passed forbidding colleges to lease lands, 'except that the one-third part at the least of the old rent be reserved and paid in corn, that is to say, in wheat after 6*s*. 8*d*. the quarter or under, and malt after 5*s*. the quarter or under, . . . and in default thereof to pay in ready money after the rates of the best wheat and malt in the markets of Oxford and Cambridge, Winchester or Eton, as they are and shall be sold at the next market day before the rents are due—to be expended to the use of the relief of the commons and diet of the colleges, &c., and by no fraud or colour let or sold away from the profit of the colleges, &c., on pain of deprivation of the Governors or chief rulers of the colleges.' This Act saved their revenues, for corn has more or less kept its value, whereas the rents then fixed in money are now insignificant, owing to the

decrease in the value of the precious metals. An Act was also made about the repair of the highways for five miles around the city.

In 1577 the dreadful 'Black Assize' happened. Rowland Jencks, a stationer, was tried in the Court-house at the Castle-yard 'for having in his house bulls, libels, and such like things against the Queen and religion, and condemned to lose his ears. Judgment being passed, and the prisoner being taken away, there arose such infectious damp or breath among the people, that many there present were then smothered, and others so deeply infected that they lived not many hours after, of which passages, hear, I pray, what Death partly says in a doleful ditty that was published about this time:—

Thinke you on the solemne Sizes past
How sodenly in Oxfordshire
I came and made the judges all agast,
And justices that did appear;
And tooke both Bell and Baram away,
And many a worthy man that day,
And all their bodies brought to clay.

Above 600 sickened in one night; and the day after, the infectious air being carried into the next villages, sickened there an hundred more. The 15, 16, and 17 day of July sickened also above 300 persons, and within twelve days' space died an hundred scholars, besides many citizens. The number of persons that died in five weeks' space, namely, from the 6 of July to the 12 of August, were 300 in Oxford, and 200 and odd in other places; so that the whole number that died in that time were 510 persons, of whom many bled till they expired.'

There were similar outbreaks at Cambridge, 1522, and at Exeter, 1586. Bacon notes that 'the most pernicious infection next to the plague is the smell of the Jail when prisoners have been long and close nastily kept.'

In 1578 we have Ralph Agas' map of Oxford, which may be compared with Loggan's in 1675; but Oxford has been so thoroughly rebuilt that it is often not easy to identify even the college buildings. Agas says:—

> The measure form and sight I bring
> Of antient Oxford, nobleness of skill—
> A city seated rich in every thing,
> Girt with wood and water, pasture, corn, and hill:
> He took the vewe from north, and so he leaves it still,
> For there the buildings make the bravest show,
> And from those walks the scholars best it know.

Wood notices constant disorders at this time, thus: 'In 1586 certain scholars of Magdalen college stealing deer in the forest of Shotover belonging to the King, one of them named Thomas Godstow was taken, carried before the Lord Norreys, and by him imprisoned. The rest of his fellows resenting the matter, resolve with a party that they would make an assault on him the next time he came to Oxford. The quarter sessions drawing near, which were about Michaelmas, the Lord Norreys with his retinew came to Oxford, and lodged himself in the Bear inn, near All Saints' church. The said scholars having notice of it, gather together with their gowns girt about them, armed with divers sorts of weapons, and coming courageously up to the said Inn, made an assault on some of the Lord's retinew, intending

at length to lay hold on the Lord himself. But timely notice being given to him, he sends out his son Maximilian, attended with his servants, and making an onslaught on the scholars, beat them down as far as St. Mary's church. Whereupon a great outcrie being raised, the Vicechancellor, Proctors, and others are called, who rushing suddenly in among the scholars, appeased and sent them away with fair words, yet some of them were hurt, and Binks, the Lord's keeper, sorely wounded. Soon after the Vicechancellor sent word to all Heads of Houses, that they should command their scholars into their respective Colleges, which being accordingly done, and all kept within, the Lord departed the town. But the scholars of Magdalen college being not able to pocket these affronts, went up privately to the top of their tower, and waiting till he should pass by towards Ricot, sent down a shower of stones that they had picked up, upon him and his retinew, wounding some and endangering others of their lives. It is said that upon the foresight of this storm, divers had got boards, others tables on their heads, to keep them from it, and that if the Lord had not been in his coach or chariot he would certainly have been killed. But however it was, the result came to this pass, that some of the offenders were severely punished, others expelled, and the Lord with much ado pacified by the sages of the University.' The successive Chancellors, Leicester, Hatton, and Sackville, succeeded in gradually restoring order among the students, and in making the professors and readers give their statutable lectures.

In 1592 Elizabeth came once more to visit the University, that she might behold the change and

amendment of learning and manners. She came from Woodstock by Godstow Bridge as before, and the city gave her a silver gilt cup with sixty angels therein. There was a grand dinner in Merton to the Privy Council, who then heard a philosophy disputation on the question whether party strife among citizens is useful to the commonwealth. The respondent was Henry Cuffe, who was afterwards executed, March 30, 1601, for his share in Essex's conspiracy.

Lord Bacon's brother Anthony, a devoted friend of Essex, was one of the City members in 1597, for the second time; but there is little trace of any political struggle in the place. In James I.'s parliaments the City usually elected its Recorder, Thomas Wentworth.

The end of the reign was marked by the foundation of the Bodleian Library. Sir Thomas Bodley, being tired of Court life, came back to his old haunts, and resolved to restore Duke Humphry's library. He wrote to the Vice-Chancellor in 1598, offering that whereas 'there hath bin heretofore a public library in Oxford, which is apparent by the room itself remaining, and by your statute records, I will take the charge and cost upon me, to reduce it again to his former use, and to make it fit and handsome with seates and shelfes and deskes, and all that may be needful, to stir up other men's benevolence to help to furnish it with books.' His own college, Merton, offered timber, and during the next two years the beautiful roof was put up. It was ready for use in 1600, and opened in 1602, and Bodley afterwards endowed it with lands. The bell which he gave still rings for the library to be closed, and his iron money chest with three locks is now exhibited in the Picture

Gallery. In 1610 the Stationers' Company began to give copies of all works published by them.

The colleges received some additions in this reign. In 1564 Sir William Petre almost refounded Exeter College, and obtained a charter of incorporation from the Queen in 1566. Jesus College was founded by Hugh Ap Rice or Price in 1571. He petitioned Elizabeth that she would be pleased to found a college in Oxford, on which he might bestow his estate for the maintenance of certain scholars of Wales, 'to be trained up in good letters.' She consented to become the foundress (the Tudors laid stress on their Welsh origin, as we see in Spenser), and gave a charter, and a hall, which occupied a portion of the site, called White Hall, and further bestowed wood from the forests of Shotover and Stow. Giordano Bruno, after being the guest of Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville in London, visited Oxford soon after 1580, and lectured on the soul and on the sphere; he thought the University was possessed by pedants and ignorant professors of the old learning. But Bruno advocated the Copernican theory with all its far-reaching consequences, and England was so far behind in science that Bacon did not accept Copernicus, and Milton did not venture to make the Archangel Raphael give a positive answer to Adam on the subject.

CHAPTER V.

THE STUARTS.

James I.—The Laudian Statutes—Fresh Disputes with the City—Charles I.'s Visit—The Siege—Oxford during the Commonwealth.

THE accession of James I. in 1603 was marked by an outbreak of plague in London, which spread to Oxford. The Michaelmas term could not be kept, and the citizens in distress petitioned the University for help, on which a weekly collection was made in the colleges, to the great relief of the sufferers. 'All the gates of colleges and halls were constantly kept shut day and night by a few persons left in them to keep possession. Shop windows all close, and none, except the keepers of the sick, and collectors of relief, stirring in the streets, no not so much as dog or cat; nay, the common market place bore grass. It brake forth again the next April. Also after the King and Court had left Oxford in 1605, it brake forth again, and the infected persons were sent to their former habitations, viz.: Port-mede house, the cabines near it, and others by Cheney Lane, near Hedington Hill.' Wood dates the outbreak of drunkenness in the University from this visit. 'For whereas in the days of Queen Elizabeth it was little or nothing practised (sack being then rather taken for

a cordial than a usual liquor, sold also for that purpose in apothecaries' shops) and a heinous crime it was to be overtaken with drink, or smoake tobacco, it now became in a manner common. The court that was here the last year left such impressions of debauchery upon the students, that by a little practice they improved themselves so much, that they became more excellent than their masters, and that also without scandal, because it became a laudable fashion.' When James entertained his brother-in-law, Christian IV. of Denmark, in 1606, the drunkenness of the Court scandalised the age. Shakespere was probably thinking as much of England as of Denmark when he makes Hamlet say (the edition of 1603 states that the play had been acted by his Highness' servants in the two Universities)—

> This heavyheaded revel east and west
> Makes us traduced and taxed of other nations ;

In the *Merchant of Venice* he refers to England more distinctly. Drunkenness became so prevalent that the statutes against it had to be revived in 1610, and in Laud's Chancellorship an attempt was made to limit the number of licensed ale-houses; it appeared that there were three hundred in Oxford, and Laud's correspondents are full of complaints on the subject. Lord Clarendon, in his Life, speaks strongly on this vice at Oxford during the time he was at Magdalen Hall (1621–25), and with cause, for his eldest brother was ruined by it. As reflecting the state of society later on we find in the MS. drama of *Grobiana's Nuptials* that 'Old Grobian' is the head of an Oxford club of slovens, rusty pedants, and mohocks, sworn enemies of good

manners, from among whom he desires to choose a husband for his daughter Grobiana. One of the rules is: 'Every apprentice is tied to leave his business whatsoever to go to football (if any be in the street), or if they hear the bagpipes.'

The delegates at the beginning of James's reign complained that the number of cottages had increased by the insatiable avarice of the citizens; and in 1612, on their complaining that the citizens had erected 150 cottages within the space of fifty years, to the great burden and charge of the University (which cottages were inhabited by people that practised to steal the King's wood from the forests near Oxford), it was ordered by the Lords of the Council that the Chancellor of the University and the Steward of the city now being should reform the same.

In 1616 arrangements were made for supplying Oxford with water; the springs of the hill above North Hinksey were collected, and brought in pipes to a conduit erected by Otho Nicholson of Christ Church, at Carfax, 'where the Bull Ring was;' and the colleges and city were supplied by pipes from hence. The Hinksey water, however, was over-rich in carbonate of lime and rather hard. From a similar cause there were several petrifying springs in or close to Oxford, as at the Cross Inn near Carfax, and another above Marston Lane.

In 1624 an Act of Parliament (21 Jac. I. c. 32) was made 'for the opening of the Thames from Burcote by Abendon to Oxford, for the benefit of the University and city.' Crosfield, of Queen's, records in his Diary: 'On 31 Aug., 1635, a barge was brought up the

Thames to Oxford, which was the first ever came.' The King was then at Woodstock. Previously, owing to the river being choked up, there was no water-carriage higher than Maidenhead.

Wadham College was founded early in James' reign by Nicholas Wadham. It is said that he had at first intended to set up a Catholic college at Venice, but in the last three or four years before his death in 1609 altered his mind, and resolved to found a college for the Church of England at Oxford. Was this in consequence of the Gunpowder Plot? His widow, Dorothy, carried out his design, and built the college on ground bought from the city. Similarly, Pembroke College was founded in 1624 under the name of King James, who gave the old Broadgates Hall as a site. 'Here it must be remembered that the generality of the people some years before did verily think that the most useful branches of mathematics were spells, and her professors limbs of the devil, converting the honour of this University, due for her (though at that time slender) proficiency in the said study to her shame. And so it was that not a few of the then foolish gentry refused to send their sons thither, lest they should be smutted with the Black Art, a term found out by a no less dark ignorance, the only enemy to this angelical knowledge.'

But during this reign men's minds became more and more absorbed in theological controversy. Grotius says, in 1613: 'Literature has little reward, theologians rule, lawyers find profit, Casaubon alone has a fair success, but he himself thinks it uncertain. Not even he would have had any place as a literary man, he had to turn theologian.' Casaubon was at Oxford

that same year, and sums up his impressions thus: 'Everything proved beyond my expectation. The revenues of the colleges maintain above two thousand students, generally of respectable parentage, and some even of the first nobility. New buildings rise every day; even some new colleges are raised from the foundation; some are enlarged, such as that of Merton, over which Savile presides, and several more. There is one begun by Cardinal Wolsey which, if it should be completed, will be worthy of the greatest admiration. But he left at his death many buildings, which he had begun, in an unfinished state, and which no one expects to see complete. None of the colleges, however, attracted me so much as the Bodleian library, a work rather for a king than a private man. It is certain that Bodley, living or dead, must have expended 200,000 *livres* on that building. The ground plot is the figure of the letter T. The part which represents the perpendicular stem was formerly built by some prince; the rest was added by Bodley with no less magnificence. In the lower part is a divinity school, to which perhaps nothing in Europe is comparable. It is vaulted with peculiar skill. The upper story is the library itself, very well built, and fitted with an immense quantity of books. Do not imagine that such plenty of manuscripts can be found here as in the Royal Library [of Paris]; there are not a few manuscripts in England, but nothing to what the [French] King possesses. But the number of printed books is wonderful, and increasing every year, for Bodley has bequeathed a considerable revenue for that purpose. As long as I remained in Oxford I passed whole days

in the library; for books cannot be taken out, but the library is open to all scholars for seven or eight hours every day. You might always see, therefore, many of these greedily enjoying the banquet prepared for them, which gave me no small pleasure.'

George Wither, a poor scholar at Magdalen in 1603, afterwards a Puritan poet, thus describes his admiration of the place, which he spent his first month of residence in exploring ('Abuses Whipt and Stript,' 1613):—

> I did, as other idle freshmen do,
> Long for to see the bell of Oseney too . . .
> But yet indeed, may not I grieve to tell,
> I never drank at Aristotle's well . . .
> Yet old Sir Harry Bath was not forgot
> In the remembrance of whose wondrous shot
> The forest by (believe it they that will),
> Retains the surname of Shotover still.
> Then having seen enough and there withall
> Got some experience at the tennis ball, . .

he betook himself to reading.

The growth of Puritan feeling in the city of Oxford is shown by the formation of the first Baptist society under Vavasour Powell, of Jesus College, in 1618. He made many converts in Wales, and in 1657 we hear of John Bunyan accompanying him to Oxford. Powell died at last in the Fleet Prison.

A plague followed Charles I.'s accession in 1625, Parliament was adjourned to Oxford, and all students were sent away that the members might be lodged in the colleges. In 1629 the King and Queen visited Oxford, and the same year Laud began the changes

in the University which his election as Chancellor next year enabled him to carry out. He had to tell the heads that if they did not reform fees, carriers, &c., 'his Majesty's commissions will reform whatsoever you do not,' and 'this breach once made upon your privileges might lay open a wider gap in many other particulars,' and 'it will be ordered in a sourer way, not so agreeable to your liberties.' The Laudian statutes of 1634 did not do much more than complete changes that had been in progress for some time, but they put an end to the older and freer organisation. His plan was to concentrate power in the hands of the colleges and of their heads; the commonwealth became an oligarchy. The proctors were no longer freely elected by the masters, but appointed by the colleges in turn, according to a cycle of twenty-three years, proportioned to the number of masters in each college, a cycle not altered till 1856, and again remodelled in 1887. The Hebdomadal Board, or standing delegacy of the heads, was instituted in 1631; it met every Monday for business, and to consider what should be laid before Convocation; but they were not to encroach on the Vice-Chancellor's disciplinary powers, such as punishing disorders or stopping controversy in the pulpits. A tutorial system had been growing up gradually. It was not until Leicester's chancellorship in 1564 that the University undertook to regulate who might be tutors, and it was not until Laud was chancellor that it was made necessary to enter under a tutor resident in the same college or hall. No one was now allowed to take the degree of Bachelor in Divinity unless he was at least in deacon's orders.

The new statutes mention among prohibited games 'every kind of game in which money is concerned, such as dibs [sheep's knuckle-bones], dice, cards, cricketing in the private grounds or gardens of *townspeople*, ... every kind of game or exercise from which danger, injury, or inconvenience might arise to other people, such as the hunting of beasts with any sort of dogs, ferrets, nets, or toils; also any use or carrying of muskets, crossbows, or falcons. . . . Neither ropedancers, nor actors, nor shows of gladiators without special leave. . . . The scholars are not to play at football, nor with cudgells, either among themselves or with the *townsfolk*, a practice from which the most perilous contentions have often arisen. The penalties are corporal punishment, if by reason of age it be becoming, fines, postponement of the degree, expulsion for a time or for ever.'

Long hair was not allowed. 'Dr. Kettle, President of Trinity,' says Aubrey, 'was irreconcileable to long hair, called them hairy scalps; and as for periwigs, which were then rarely worn, he believed them to be the scalps of men, cut off after they were hanged, and so tanned and dressed for use. When he observed the scholars' hair longer than ordinary (especially if they were scholars of the house) he would bring a pair of scissors in his muff, which he commonly wore, and woe be to them that sat on the outside of the table. I remember he cut Mr. Radford's hair with the knife that chips the bread on the buttery-hatch, and then [from the old play of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*] he sang, "And was not Grim the collier finely trimmed?"'

Laud's care for discipline was of much service. He

diminished the number of alehouses, partly stopped drinking in colleges, and got the King to write a letter to Christ Church, suppressing their Westminster supper. Nor would he allow beneficed clergymen to live in Oxford. 'The statute [21 Henry VIII. c. 13, § 28] which gives leave to a man's stay in the university that is under forty years of age, doth not privilege a man that hath a vicarage, and is sworn to residence, unless he be dispensed withal for residence according to law.'

Laud also procured large privileges for the University presses—John Lichfield and William Turner were then the printers. He made considerable gifts of books and manuscripts to the Bodleian, and was a generous friend to scholars. He recovered some of those who had been converted to Romanism; among them Chillingworth, the son of a mayor of Oxford. He was alarmed at hearing that the Mitre Inn was a meeting-place for recusants, 'seldom without some scholars in their company, upon pretence either of alliance or acquaintance. Greene the host, a professed papist, is not of our body, but a townsman, and licensed by them to keep an inn.' 'I have complained to the Lords about him, and hope there will be a letter go from the Board to the town to call for an account of the whole business.' One of the charges against Laud, made by Prynne, the great Parliamentary lawyer, was that his chaplain, Morgan Owen, had set up images of the Virgin and Child, holding a small crucifix, over the new south porch of St. Mary's, which he had built at a cost of 230*l.*, in lieu, it is said, of a Latin sermon. They still keep at Lambeth the very copy of Prynne's 'Canter-

bury's Doom' which Charles I. read, with the clear bold *Dum spiro spero*, *C.R.*, written on the fly-leaf by the King himself. Hobbes notes how much the doctrine and method of the University contributed to the troubles, and Prynne had cruel wrongs to remember.

In 1635 the Caroline charter confirmed the privileges of the University, and their rights over the city, notwithstanding a protest from the citizens; but Laud kept vigilant watch over the city. His 'History of his Chancellorship' supplies full details. He got a letter from the Council, ordering the demolition of the cottages 'erected upon the town ditch and the town wall, the back way towards the Castle, and in the middle of the street by Trinity College gate, and near a place called Smithgate.' Pulling down the cottages made Smithgate passable for coaches. And by his own proclamation he named a toll-gatherer for the market, 'which office hath of late times been discontinued; by reason whereof divers citizens, inhabiting in or near the corn market, have taken upon them to keep and set forth on market days public bushels and measures for the measuring of corn and grain, and take toll for the same without stint or limitation, sometimes a pint, sometimes a pint and a half, and sometimes a quart for the measuring of a bushel, whereas the ancient and laudable due is but half a wine pint at the most: and divers maltsters, bakers, and brewers do keep in their private houses two bushels, a bigger wherewith to buy, and a lesser to sell, whereby the country that bring in their corn and grain to the university, are deterred to furnish the market, in regard the measure of grain will not hold out fully with the said great bushels.' In 1636

there was a difference between University and City about felons' goods, court-leets, and taking toll, and these questions were referred to Judge Jones. The leet was now not of much importance; the amercements in it were equally divided under a composition made 23 Elizabeth, which had been forgotten. In 1639 there was a difficulty about a coroner's jury. 'Our university coroner being last week to sit upon the body of a privileged person drowned near Christ Church sends his warrant (according as the statute directs him) to the constable of St. Olave's [Aldate's] to warn a jury: he presently consults the mayor, and the mayor the town clerk—the city oracle, and both instruct him to disobey, because by their charter they are exempted from all service without their liberties, as this place was, though yet within the parish of St. Olave's, which forced us for the present to send into the country for a jury, which lost time and cost trouble.' In 1637 'a jury of twelve privileged and twelve freemen, empanelled by the university to inquire after such misdemeanours as are impleadable in a court-leet hall in the Chancellor's name, presented with joint consent unto the vice-chancellor the conduit raised in the market-place at Carfax as a nuisance.' There was a constant question about licensing alehouses, 'the number of victuallers being incredible. The cure is not by punishing the immediate delinquents, either by imprisonment under the statute 5 Edw. VI. or by whipping under 3 Car. I., but by indicting the brewer under 4 Jac. I., who must pay 6*s.* 8*d.* for every barrel he shall deliver into any taphouse not licensed. I hope the justices in the town sessions will not hinder this good work—they renewed

lately their commission, wherein five of them are added, one being a brewer, who neither by law or in reason should be a judge in this kind.' There were ninety-four unlicensed alehouses within the city. Laud says: 'I once took order that the number of town justices shall not exceed those of the university, that so things might be carried with indifferency. And if they shall now oppose, it will be occasion for me to move my lord Keeper again to dissolve their commission.' The case is thus summed up:—'The University in the time of Edward III. had the sole keeping of the assize of bread and drink in Oxford, and the government and correction of all manner of victuallers and victual and tippling-houses there. This power continued for 200 years without interruption, until the statute of 5 and 6 Edward VI., which gave power to two justices of peace in every shire or city to license alehouses; by colour of this statute (in regard there was therein no express saving of the privileges of the University) the mayor and aldermen, being justices, have licensed alehouses. The Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor were at the time of making the said statutes judges of peace within the city. In all Acts since made correction and punishment of all alehouse-keepers and tipplers in alehouses is reserved solely to the governor of the University.' This brought a strong letter from the King to the town. In 1639 the chandlers (two of that company being aldermen) took upon them to sell candles at a price above that which was set by the Vice-Chancellor. But they submitted, and the Vice-Chancellor raised the price. In 1640 the city petitioned its Steward, the Earl of Berks, about the watch. 'According to

the statute of Winchester, and an order of the Privy Council in 1630, a watch was set by the mayor, with the consent of the Vice-Chancellor, part of which watch, by reason of divers inroads and inlets (besides the gates), were appointed by the mayor to walk about their wards and liberties; by which watch straggling soldiers and others have been taken, and we have been safe. But the Proctors question the said watch, and exact of them 40*s.* a time for their walking: and for non-payment thereof threaten to sue them in the Vice-Chancellor's court, and send for these watchmen very often to their chambers, and have imprisoned some of the constables, and have laid hold of the watchmen and taken some of them to the prison gates with an intent to imprison them: and M^r^ Mayor is forced to discharge the watch; but the watch in S. Thomas' parish, being the entrance from Farrington, where the late rebellion was [mutiny of Dorsetshire soldiers on the way to Scotland], he did not discharge, and the last night Proctor Allibond imprisoned the constable for setting the same watch.' The Vice-Chancellor replies: 'Had they kept themselves at the gates, the proctors had not questioned them. But when they took the boldness to walk the streets to examine scholars of all conditions, to enter houses, and search what company there, then they thought it high time to appear. Nothing will now satisfy them, unless they may trample our charters under their feet, and give laws to them by whom they live.'

But before these signs of coming trouble, and when Laud had apparently settled everything to his wish, Charles and Henrietta Maria visited Oxford, in 1636, partly to do the Chancellor honour. They were met as

usual—'first a trumpeter before the townsmen, which were all either apparelled in satin doublets and cloth breeches, as ordinary townsmen of any degree; scarlet gowns, so the mayor and aldermen and two baylys: next to them were such as rid in wide-sleeved gowns and footcloths, and the doctors in scarlet, and so on.' At Christ Church they saw a play by William Strode, the public orator, called *The Floating Island*, which Lord Carnarvon declared to be the worst that ever he saw, except one at Cambridge; but the shifting scenery was good, and was imitated by the London theatres. Strode joked about Prynne's ears being cut off and satirised the Puritans.

Next day they visited Laud's own college, St. John's. He had enlarged the Library with stones from the old Carmelite convent in Beaumont Palace, and used still more of them for the Quadrangle. Grey marble pillars too had been fetched from a quarry, discovered by Juxon, the late President of the college, while following the hounds near Woodstock. The play acted in the Hall was *The Hospital of Lovers*. 'It was merry and without offence,' says Wood, 'and gave great content; which I doubt cannot be said of any play acted in the play-houses, belonging to the King and Duke, since 1660.' At eight in the evening they saw another play at Christ Church, *The Royal Slave*, by William Cartwright, of whom Ben Jonson said, 'My son Cartwright writes all like a man.' He died of the fever which raged at Oxford in 1643. The scenery of the Interludes was managed by Inigo Jones. Henrietta was so pleased that she had it repeated some months later at Hampton Court, and borrowed the Oxford

dresses. Jasper Maine's play, *The City Match*, was not acted at Christ Church as intended, but was sent for to Hampton Court and acted there.

These were still the 'golden days' of Charles I., but Wood notes that neither the scholars nor the citizens made any expressions of joy, or uttered as the manner is, *Vivat Rex!* And in 1640 he notes that the Puritans multiply their conventicles, show themselves openly, and preach in public very seditiously. A maypole set up in Holywell, with a picture of a Puritan musician in it, was pulled down by the scholars of New Inn and Magdalen Hall, where the Puritan feeling was strong.

In the interval before the coming storm many leading scholars shared Falkland's literary life at Great Tew, so vividly described by Clarendon, and among them were Sheldon, Morley, Hammond, Earle, Chillingworth, and indeed all men of eminent parts and faculties in Oxford, besides those who resorted thither from London. In a little time the best men in England would, with sad hearts and sadder forebodings, have to take part against each other in the worst of all contests, Civil War.

But all men's thoughts were now absorbed in the coming struggle. So zealous a part did town and gown take in public affairs, that the old proverb might seem verified, that Oxford conflicts were ominous of national revolutions. Laud says: 'Nothing can be transacted in the State without its being immediately winnowed in the Parliaments of the Scholars.' In January, 1641, a contest of no slight violence raged in the streets, and again, as in the thirteenth century, were rung the fatal alarm bells of St. Mary's and St. Martin's. The King

sent from York in 1642 a requisition to Vice-Chancellor Prideaux, asking the colleges to lend him money at 8 per cent. A large sum was raised, and Convocation voted to send him all the reserve money in the various University chests. Parliament declared the requisition illegal, and ordered the highways about Oxford to be guarded. Dr. Pink, the Vice-Chancellor, enrolled some volunteers, and we hear of their marching from the schools 'through Holywell and so through the Manor yard by the church into the New Park;' probably the road from Smithgate to the Kidlington Road, between Wadham and St. John's, did not then exist, though there was something of a path.

Afterwards Dr. Pink appealed to the Puritan Chancellor, Lord Pembroke, for help and advice, and spoke of the Royalists as *delinquents*, but the Chancellor gave cold comfort and was not deluded as to Pink's real feelings. Some Royalist horse, under Sir John Byron, retired from Oxford when a Parliamentary force from Aylesbury occupied the city on September 12, in consequence of an application made by the citizens. But Lord Say, the new Lord Lieutenant, made the mistake of not occupying it strongly, and seizing all the plate and supplies. He spared the plate 'upon condition it should be forthcoming at the Parliament's appointment, and not in the least employed against them.' The Parliamentarians committed no outrage except mutilating the statue of the Virgin and Child in the porch of St. Marys. The sculptured work over the gate of All Souls was spared through the influence of the Puritan alderman Nixon, who is honourably remembered for the school which he founded for forty children

of poor freemen. But after the battle of Edgehill the King pushed on, and occupied Oxford on October 29 as an advanced post from which he could threaten London, and Oxford again became the frontier fortress of middle England. The King at once began to fortify it. The military position was good, between the two rivers, for not only did the royal troops often beat up the enemies' quarters at places like Thame (it was in repelling one of these attacks that Hampden fell, on Chalgrove Field), and Chinnor, in the Chilterns, which Rupert burnt; but when large divisions under Essex and Waller threatened the place on both sides, the King was able, by throwing his force alternately over these rivers, to check them back with heavy loss; and to the very end of the war Oxford was a difficulty to the Parliamentary leaders, and required to be watched by a considerable force. All hands were set to work at the fortifications. 'On 5 Dec. the University bellman went about the city, warning all privileged persons that were housekeepers to send some of their family the next day to dig at the works through New Park. According to which order the colleges sent men, and many appeared and did work for several days. The citizens also were warned to work at the bulwarks on the North side of St. Giles' church, and the country by St. John's college walks, and the next day when the King rode to see the said fortifications, he found but twelve persons working on the city behalf, whereas there should have been 122, of which neglect his majesty took notice, and told them of it in the field.' Arms and powder were put in New College cloister and tower, corn in the law and logic schools, victuals in the

Guildhall, cloth and coats for soldiers in the music and astronomy schools. The gunpowder was made at a mill at Osney. 'The rivers were so ordered by locks and sluices, especially at St. Clement's bridge, that the city could be surrounded with waters, except the north part. That part had so many strong bulwarks, so regularly flanking one another, that nothing could be more exactly done. Round about the Line, both upon the bulwarks and upon the Curtin, was strongly set with Storm Poles. Upon the outside of the ditch or trench, round the said Line, it was strongly pallisadoed, and without that again were digged several pits in the ground, that a single footman could not without difficulty approach the brink of the trench.'

The mint for coinage was at New Inn Hall. The King was in such want that even the household was for some time supported by the Sunday offerings. The colleges tried to save their plate by offering ready money instead; but the King's needs were too great and he took the plate as well, on a promise of repayment, and the students henceforth drank out of earthenware. The crown piece struck at Oxford in 1642 has on the reverse, RELIG. PROT. LEG. ANG. or ANG. LIBER. PAR, in conformity with Charles' declaration that he would 'preserve the Protestant religion, the known laws of the land, and the just privileges and freedom of Parliament.' But the coin peculiarly called the Oxford crown, beautifully executed by Rawlins in 1644, has underneath the King's horse a view of Oxford. The colleges had further to pay some of the foot soldiers at four shillings a week each. To take Queen's as an instance of what colleges had to contribute besides the

original gifts of money and plate—in July, 1643, the college had to give 80*l.* for pay to the foot soldiers. The first fortifications in the New Park, begun November, 1642, and finished in March, cost the college 11*l.* 10*s.*; and the fortifications afterwards erected in St. Clement's and the Christ Church meads, 24*s.* a week for two months. The fellows and scholars worked at the fortifications themselves; but as not less than twenty men a week were required, extra labourers had to be hired. All this while the college was paying 83*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* towards the support of the soldiery, besides expending 35*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* in the purchase of arms and ammunition. Altogether the college expended on the royal cause 1,599*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*, to which were added other taxes for the poor, lame, and sick soldiers, various contributions, the maintenance of above twenty soldiers, and other charges. When the siege was ended, the fellows sent a petition to the Parliamentary commission then sitting at Winchester, praying for the restoration of the college property, and setting forth that the majority of the fellows had been non-resident during the occupation of Oxford by the Royalists, and that those who were there had been quietly pursuing their studies. In fact, while the majority in most colleges was in favour of the King, a considerable number of Parliamentarians, or, indeed, neutral persons, had left, or been forced to leave, the place. Not a few eminent sons of Oxford were on the side of the Parliament. It may be enough to mention Sir John Eliot, John Hampden, John Pym, John Selden, and Robert Blake. The University, like England itself, was much divided in opinion; but while the collegians were mostly on the King's side,

the townsmen inclined to the Parliament. 'Sir Arthur Aston the governor doth so tyrannize over the inhabitants, misusing the mayor and aldermen and all the Protestants in the town.' There is a manuscript Diary of Thomas Crosfield, fellow of Queen's, from 1626 to 1655, in the college library, which describes the state of feeling. The plate of the citizens also was called for, and Wood says: 'The plate which had been given to A. Wood by his godfathers and godmother, which was considerable, was (with all other plate in Oxon) carried by his majestie's command to the mint at New Inn.' The fortifications extended considerably beyond the town, and had sharp angles flanking each other, as planned by Richard Rallingson of Queen's. One work extended from Folly Bridge across Christchurch meadow in front of Merton. Houses were pulled down in St. Clement's to form a bulwark across the street.

A 'Complainte to the House of Commons' printed in 1642 thus describes the treatment of the prisoners at Oxford: 'Others find fault with the committing of Malignants to prison; but they are used like men, not as Smith the provost marshall useth them; not as Captain Lilburn, Captain Wingate, Captain Walton, &c., are used, like dogs rather than Christians; almost pined to death for the want of sustenance, eaten with vermin for want of help and shifts of cloaths; loaded with fetters of iron, debarred the company of their wives children or friends, debarred of the charity that friends would relieve them with; cannot have the favour which Christians have of Turks, for those bloodthirsty Cavaliers, who use them like hackney-jades,

nay worse than dogs; for, though it is true the King allows sixpence a day, but Smith detains fourpence three farthings of it. Here is cruelty indeed; what would these men do, if he should subdue us?' In another place it is said: 'They were put into a Tower of the Castle, a great height, where they are not allowed any fire or candle, or straw to lie on, but the bare boards and planks of the room: nor any more allowance than one penny and farthing a day, which is a penny in bread, and a farthing can of beer, which is half beer and half water; by which means many are very ill and diseased.'

We now get information from the newspaper called the 'Mercurius Aulicus,' which began January 164$\frac{2}{3}$, and continued till about the end of 1645, conducted by John Birkenhead and Peter Heylyn. The Queen came from the North to join the King on July 13, 1643, and 'Queen Mary,' as the Cavaliers called her, stayed henceforth in the warden's house at Merton. Davenant's tender lines, addressed to her in 1644, are well known:—

> Fair as unshaded light, or as the day
> Of the first year, when every month was May,
> Sweet as the altar's smoke, or as the new
> Unfolded bud swelled by the morning's dew;
> Kind as the willing saints, but calmer far
> Than in their dreams forgiven votaries are,—
> But what, sweet excellence, what dost thou here?

As many Royalist families had taken refuge in the place, it was for a time gay enough, though many of the refugees were very poor. Lady Fanshawe says: 'My

father (Sir John Harrison) commanded my sister and myself to come to him at Oxford, where the Court then was; but we, that had till then lived in great plenty and great order, found ourselves like fishes out of the water, and the scene so changed, that we knew not at all how to act any part but obedience, for, from as good a house as any gentleman of England had, we came to a baker's house in an obscure street, and, from rooms well furnished, to lie in a very bad bed in a garret, to one dish of meat, and that not the best ordered, no money, for we were as poor as Job, nor clothes more than a man or two brought in their cloak bags: we had the perpetual discourse of losing and gaining towns and men; at the windows the sad spectacle of war, sometimes plague, sometimes sicknesses of other kind, by reason of so many people being packed together, as I believe there never was before of that quality; always in want, yet I must needs say that most bore it with a martyr-like cheerfulness.' Part of the Parliament had joined the King; the Commons met in the Convocation House, and the Lords in some of the upper schools. Hence in the winter a treaty was attempted at Uxbridge, on the higher road to London, out of reach of the floods. In 1643 Oxford suffered heavily from the plague, and in 1644 from a dreadful fire, which 'began on 6 Oct., about two of the clock in the afternoon, in a little poor house, on the south side of Thames Street (leading from the Northgate to the High Bridge), occasioned by a foot soldier's roasting a pigg, which he had stolen. The wind being verie high, and in the north, blew the flames southward very quick and strangely, and burnt all houses and stables (except St. Marie's College)

standing between the back part of those houses that extend from the Northgate to St. Martin's church on the east, and those houses in the North Baylie, called New Inn Lane, on the west: then all the old houses in the Bochersrew (with the Bocherew itself), which stood between St. Martin's church and the church of St. Peter in the Baylie, among which were two which belonged to A. Wood's mother, besides the stables and backhouses.' Nehemiah Wallington saw a judgment in this. 'At the last Lord's day in the morning, some of the soldiers had appointed a merry meeting at a fiddler's profane taphouse near the *Red Lion* by the Fishmarket, with music drink and tobacco, one drinking an health to the King, another to the next meeting of Parliament. Thus by drunkenness, music, scurrilous songs, cursing and swearing, profaning God's holy day. About three o'clock in the afternoon the fire began to appear, which by the just hand of God hath burned about 330 houses. . . . The only church that was fired and defaced, though not wholly burnt, was Carfax, whereof Giles Widdowes (the same that boasted that he had cuffed the Devil in his study, and wrought the schismatical puritan) was parson, and had therein often preached against the observation of the Lord's day: saying that dancing and playing was as necessary as preaching; so that this part of the town, being so well taught, were always the most evident profaners of the Sabbath day by keeping Whitsun ales, and dancing; amongst whom lame Giles himself would put off his gown and dance with them on that day. . . . Most of the goods which were plundered by the Cavaliers from Cicester in Gloucestershire, and from Oxfordshire, and

Berkshire, were here laid up, and most of them either spoiled or burned; God not permitting those ill-gotten goods to prosper, but herein in spoiling spoiled the spoiler. . . . Observe that the headquarters of those who had fired so many towns should now be visited with the most sad and wonderful fire that hath happened these many years in any part of the kingdom.' Widdowes had been previously attacked by Prynne in a pamphlet called 'Lame Giles his Haultings,' written in answer to Widdowes' book called 'The Lawlesse Kneelesse Schismaticall Puritan.' The two men had been at Oriel together. Prynne cruelly says that his opponent had exchanged all his Books for Cans (of ale).

In 1644 Essex and Waller had nearly surrounded the place, but the King by marching fast got safely to Worcester; and then fought an action with Waller at Cropredy Bridge, June 30, on his way back, which set him free to follow Essex into Cornwall, where he forced his army to surrender. In 1645 Cromwell beat four regiments of royal horse near Islip Bridge, and Colonel Windebank surrendered Blechingdon House to him, for which he was shot at Oxford May 3, 1645. The King again left Oxford on May 7, and Fairfax besieged it in vain; but the battle of Naseby, June 14, ended all chance for the Royalists. After various attempts to raise a fresh army, Charles returned to Oxford. He left it again after a dismal winter, and surrendered himself to the Scots. The Queen had escaped to Exeter, Charles having escorted her to Abingdon on April 3, 1644. In 1646 Woodstock manor-house surrendered, and Banbury; and at last Oxford itself, by the King's command, on June 24. The defence

was hopeless, though Fairfax had not made much impression on the strength of the place from his fortified camp on Headington Hill. He had thrown a bridge over the Cherwell near Marston, and posted most of his infantry on the north side of the city. Fairfax, who was himself a considerable scholar and antiquary, took great pains to preserve the Bodleian. 'Tis said there was more harm done by the Cavaliers (during their garrison) by way of embezzilling and cutting off chains of books than there was since.' Wood notes that the books of some college libraries also had been *imbeziled.*

The Parliament found it necessary to send a commission for the reform of the University, and Wood says: 'Those few scholars that were remaining were for the most part, especially such that were young, much debauched and become idle by their bearing arms and keeping company with rude soldiers. Much of their precious time was lost by being upon the guard night after night, and so consequently had opportunities, as lay-soldiers had, of gaming, drinking, swearing, &c., as notoriously appeared to the Visitors that were sent by the Parliament to reform the University. The truth is that they (I blame not all) were so guilty of those vices, that those that were looked upon as good wits, and of great parts at their first coming, were by strange inventions (not now to be named) to entice them to drinking and to be drunk, totally lost and rendered useless. I have had the opportunity (I cannot say happiness) to peruse several songs, ballads, and such like frivolous stuff, that were made by some of the ingenious sort of them, while they kept guard at the Holybush

and Angel near Rewley in the west suburbs; which, though their humour and chiefest of their actions are in them described, yet I shall pass them by as very unworthy to be here, or any part mentioned.' Dr. Plot speaks of the bed of white clay at Shotover, 'which, during the late wars, in the siege, was wholly used for making tobacco pipes.' Violent partisans of the Cavalier cause had little right to blame the moderate reforms carried out by their opponents; but the Royalists ridiculed and insulted the Visitors, and they had the great advantage of having the wits on their side. The following is a specimen of the Royalist squibs describing the entry of the Chancellor, Lord Pembroke: 'Tuesday, April the eleventh, the long-legged peece of impertinency, which they miscall the Lord Chancellor, was to be brought with state into Oxon; to this end, those few inconsiderable and ill-fac'd saints hired all the hackneyes in town, which were basely bad, yet good enough for them. Out they went and met the *Hoghen Moghen* I told you of; what courtship passed between them at meeting, how he swore at them, and they said grace at him: how many zealous faces and ill legs they made, and at what distance I know not; a long time they were about it.' In September 1646 Parliament sent down seven of the most popular preachers, one of whom was Edward Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, to endeavour to bring the University into a temper that would admit of reconciliation with the proceedings of the Parliament, but without effect; they had however considerable influence on the townspeople. 'They held religious Conferences, and the success of them was undeniably great to those that were of the presbyterian profession

. . . they found love and respect from divers of the city (especially silly women) and some scholars . . . whereas before the surrender there was no place in England more loyal and orthodox than the generality of the people of Oxford were, so after the entry of the Parliamenteers no place worse.' This is Wood's view, but probably the townspeople were now able to show their real feelings. The Presbyterian Visitors were in some degree checked by the Independents in London. The Visitors simply put the question to each fellow and student, 'Do you submit to the authority of Parliament in this present visitation?' and those who submitted retained their places. But about 400 refused to submit and were ejected. Some of them were hoping for a new rising against the Parliament, and in fact there was a mutiny prepared even among the new garrison of Oxford (June 12, 1646), but the Parliamentary generals were on their guard. Antony Wood was among those whose places were saved by favour to his family.

Cromwell himself was Chancellor for seven years, 1651–57, and was careful of the interests of both City and University. Wood tells this story of him: 'James Quin had been turned out of his student's place at Christ Church by the visitors; but being well acquainted with some great men of those times, that loved musick, they introduced him into the company of Oliver Cromwell, the protector, who loved a good voice and instrumental music well. He heard him sing with very great delight, liquor'd him with sack, and in conclusion said, "Mr. Quin, you have done very well, what shall I doe for you?" To which Quin made answer, with compliments, of which he had command, with a great

grace, that "your Highness would be pleased to restore him to his student's place," which he did accordingly, and so kept it to his dying day.' The Oxford Blues, now the Royal Horse Guards, were raised in the city as a body-guard for Cromwell in 1648.

In September 1649 a mutiny was raised among the soldiers of the garrison, and the mutineers published their representation in behalf of themselves and all the nation. Their pretence was 'to free the nation from the intolerable burden of Excise, which eats into the very bones of the poor people of this nation; and also from that insufferable cut-throat Tythe, which is the fifth part of the nation's wealth. That also the new-accustomed way of trying causes by corrupt lawyers, who make a trade of the people's ignorance, be taken away. That the law be translated into our native tongue that so it may be understood,' &c. But before these soldiers, called by the name of Levellers, could increase themselves to a considerable party, they were by the care of the officers and of Colonel Ingoldesby the Governor, with Lambert lately come to the city, dispersed: whereupon some fled, and others were taken, of whom two were shot to death in Broken-Hays, and the rest disbanded.

The Royalist ballads represent the University as deserted; but in fact, as soon as things had at all settled down, students came up just as before the war, and the new heads, such as John Owen of Christchurch, John Conant of Exeter, and Thomas Goodwin of Magdalen, soon restored both discipline and learning.

Wood lived at Oxford throughout the Commonwealth times, and notes many curious incidents. Thus

in 1650, 'Jacob, a Jew, opened a coffey house in the parish of St. Peter in the East, and there it was by some, who delighted in noveltie, drank. When he left Oxon, he sold it in Old Southampton Buildings in Holborne, near London, and was living there 1671.' In 1654 'Cirques Jobson, a Jew and Jacobite (the Jacobites were the Monophysite Christians of Syria), born near Mount Libanus, sold coffey in a house between Edmund Hall and Queen's College corner.' And, 1655, 'Arthur Tillyard, apothecary and great royalist, sold coffey publickly in his house against All Souls' College. He was encouraged so to do by some royalists now living in Oxon, and by others who esteemed themselves either virtuosi or wits; the chiefest number were of All Souls, as Peter Pett . . . Christopher Wren. This coffey house continued till his Majestie's return and after, and then they became more frequent, and had an excise set upon coffey.' Newspapers and written news-letters and pamphlets were supplied to the politicians, who frequented the coffee-houses, as we see in the 'Spectator.' Charles II. tried to close them in 1675, but had to recall his proclamation, as both parties found them convenient places for meeting and talking. Tea was considered to be a ladies' drink, and was at first very expensive; the slang name for it was *catlap*. The Act of 1660 charged a duty of eightpence on every gallon of chocolate, sherbet, or tea made for sale, while coffee and foreign spirits were only charged fourpence. Henry Savill, writing to his uncle from Paris, August 12, 1678, complains of friends 'whose buttery-hatch is not so open, and who call for tea instead of pipes and bottles after dinner—a base, unworthy Indian practice.' Tom

Warton, in his 'Companion to the Guide and Guide to the Companion,' says: 'Besides the libraries of Radcliffe and Bodley and the Colleges, there have been of late years many libraries founded in our coffee-houses for the benefit of such as have neglected or lost their Latin or Greek . . . As there are here books suited to every taste, so there are liquors adapted to every species of reading. Amorous tales may be perused over Arrack punch and Jellies; insipid odes over Orgeat or Capillaire; politics over coffee; divinity over port; and Defences of bad generals and bad ministers over Whipt Syllabubs. In a word, in these libraries instruction and pleasure go hand in hand; and we may pronounce, in a literal sense, that learning no longer remains a dry pursuit.' An advertisement in the 'Oxford Journal' of April 13, 1759, says: 'The masters of coffee houses in Oxford find themselves under the disagreeable necessity of acquainting their customers that, by the late additional duties on coffee and chocolate, together with the advanced price of these commodities, occasioned by their present scarcity, they shall be obliged to advance the price of chocolate from fourpence to fivepence per dish, and coffee from fourpence to fivepence per pot.' But Mrs. Anne Blewfield, of the George coffee-house, announces, in a counter advertisement, that she does not join in the rise.

The founders of the Royal Society were then living in Oxford. Their chief was John Wilkins, the Warden of Wadham. Evelyn notes on a visit to Oxford, July 13, 1654: 'We all dined at that most obliging and universally curious Dr. Wilkins, at Wadham. He was the first who showed me the transparent apiaries,

which he had built like castles and palaces, and so ordered them one upon another, as to take the honey without destroying the bees. . . . He had above in his lodgings and gallery a variety of shadows, dials, perspectives, and many other artificial, mathematical, and magical curiosities, a waywiser, a thermometer, a monstrous magnet, conic and other sections, a balance on a semi-circle; most of them his own, and that prodigious young scholar's Mr. Christopher Wren; who presented me with a piece of white marble, which he had stained with a lively red, very deep, as beautiful as if it had been natural.' Wilkins also collected the best musicians about him, as Wood tells with delight. Oxford was then a considerable musical centre, as, owing to the general suppression of musical services, many musicians out of employ resorted thither. When the Ashmolean Museum was opened in 1683, 'those doctors and masters that pleased went to the upper room of the museum, where they viewed from one till five what they pleased: many that are delighted with the new philosophy are taken with them, but some of the old look upon them as baubles; Christ Church men not there.' Dr. South was fond of attacking the Royal Society, and a jealousy of it arose at Oxford, so that when Thomas Sprat, of Wadham, wrote a history of it in 1667, he had to argue that *experiments are not dangerous to the universities.*

Brian Walton published the Polyglot Bible at Oxford in 1657, in six volumes folio, and Cromwell allowed the paper for the edition to enter duty free. Walton dedicated the book to Cromwell, but naturally altered the dedication after the Restoration.

A botanic or physick garden had been founded in

1632 by Henry, Earl of Danby, who gave five acres of land, the site of the old Jewish burying-ground, and built greenhouses, and stores, and a house. The trees were clipped into curious shapes, for Tickell says with enthusiasm :—

> How sweet the landskip ! where, in living trees,
> Here frowns a vegetable Hercules.
> There famed Achilles learns to live again,
> And looks yet angry in the mimic scene.
> Here artful birds, which blooming arbours shew,
> Seem to fly higher, whilst they upwards grow.
> From the same leaves both arms and warriors rise,
> And every bough a different charm supplies.

Wood says that in 1659 ' scurvy-grass drink began to be drunk in the mornings as physick drink.'

CHAPTER VI.

LATER OXFORD.

The Restoration—James II.—Anne—Musical Entertainments—The House of Hanover and the Jacobites—Methodism—Improvements in the City.

It was a sign of coming change that 'when Richard Cromwell was proclaimed before St. Marie's Church dore, the usual place where kings have been proclaimed, the mayor, recorder, town clerk, &c., accompanied by Col. Unton Cooke and his troopers, were pelted with carret and turnip tops by young scholars and others, who stood at a distance.' And next year Wood notes 'those that for these twelve years last past had governed and carried all things at their pleasure, looked discontented, plucked their hats over their eyes, and were much perplexed, foreseeing that their being here must inevitably vanish. The common people hugged themselves up with the thoughts of a king, and enjoyed their sports, especially May games, more this year than hath been since. . . . A comedy called The Guardian was acted in the new dancing school against St. Michael's church, about the middle of July,' of which the Puritans complained because it ridiculed their dress and habits.

A Restoration never restores, for men may remember

but they do not recommence; and when the discipline of Owen and Conant was abolished in the orgies of Charles II.'s return, it was not the discipline of Laud that took its place. Wood notes the disordered state both of City and University. He asks, in 1677, 'Why doth solid and serious learning decline, and few or none follow it now in the university? Answer: Because of coffee-houses, where they spend all their time; and in entertainments at their chambers, where their studies are become places for victuallers, also great drinking at taverns and ale-houses (Dr. Lamphire told me there were 370 in Oxford), spending their time in *common chambers* whole afternoons, and thence to the coffee-house.' The first common chamber was at Merton, where in 1661 the 'chamber above the kitchen was converted into a common room.' In 1662 Wood adds other causes for the numbers falling off—viz. 'the constant expectation of a Parliament to be held at Oxford, and the fear of being turned out to make room for members of both Houses;' and, again, 'all those that we call Whigs, and side with the Parliament, will not send their sons for fear of their being Tories, and a suspicion that the university leant towards popery.' As to discipline, he notes, under 1673: 'Proctors took their places, great rudeness at Trinity College, the undergraduates and freshmen came into the hall, scrambled for biscuits, took away bottles, glasses, &c.; at Wadham, the like.' And again, September 15, 1673: 'The election of Oxford mayor; Anthony Hall, vintner, chosen, at which some young scholars and servitors being present heard his speech of thanks out of the balcony, viz. that he thanked them for their choice of him, that he could

neither speak French nor Spanish, but if they would walk to the Bear they should find that he could speak English, meaning, give them English ale and beer. Thereupon the scholars hissed, but the townsmen, brooking it not, turned them out; then the scholars made some resistance by flipping them on the cheek; after that, in the evening, they fought, and so they did on Sunday and Wednesday in St. Peter's in the Bailey; a scholar of Brasen Nose his arm broke, another his head; began by servitors, and carried on by them and commoners and townsmen of the meaner sort. This continued above a week, and would have lasted longer, had not the vice-chancellor and proctors bestirred themselves for the appeasing of it.' And in 1680: 'Robert Pauling, draper, chose mayor for the ensuing year. Whereas all mayors in memory of man used to be mealy-mouthed, and fearful of executing their office for fear of losing trade; this person is not, but walks in the night to take townsmen in tipling-houses, prohibits coffee to be sold on Sundays, which Dr. Nicholas, vice-chancellor, prohibited till after evening prayer, viz. till five o'clock; but this R. Pauling hath been bred up a puritan, he is no friend to the university, and a dissuader of such gentlemen that he knows from sending their children to the university, because that, he saith, 'tis a debauched place, a rude place of no discipline; he will not take notice of Quakers' meetings, when he is informed that there is such, but a Papist he hates as a devil.'

On September 25, 1665, the King and Queen came from Salisbury to Oxford, and lodged at Christ Church and Merton. But the King lodged Lady Castlemaine

also at Merton, a scandal which was cried openly by boys in the street. The 'Oxford Gazette' first came out on November 7, 1665, during this visit. It was a half-sheet only, on one side of the paper. After eleven numbers it became the 'London Gazette,' the oldest of our papers now in existence. The present Oxford papers are of much later date. Jackson's 'Oxford Journal' was first published in 1753; the 'University Herald,' 1806; the 'Oxford Chronicle,' 1837 (the first Liberal paper); the 'Oxford Times,' 1862, with several later publications; not to mention University publications during term time.

In this session at Oxford the Five Mile Act was passed, which prohibited Dissenting ministers from coming within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough, under a penalty of 40*l*. In 1672 however the King, under the pressure of the Dutch war, tried to conciliate the Nonconformists by suspending the penal enactment, provided a licence was taken out. More than one licence was taken out in Oxford, where the Independents and Baptists had meeting-houses. Wood says the Baptists met in Magdalen Street in an 'antiquated dancing school, to which many people did usually resort. Afterwards this meeting was removed to St. Ebbe's parish, where it now continueth (1691), and is carried on by a certain person who has received some education at Cambridge.' After the destruction of the Baptist and Presbyterian chapels in the Jacobite riot of 1715, the members joined in building a new chapel in 1720, on the principle of open communion, behind the present chapel in the New Road. The chapel in St. Ebbe's was restored and

afterwards used as a Sunday school. The New Road Baptists, under the Rev. James Hinton, established several places of worship in the neighbourhood, and at one of them—Woodstock—Hinton was severely injured in a riot in 1774. They afterwards again separated into an 'open' and a 'close' communion. During the previous period Joseph Alleine, tutor of Corpus (author of 'An Alarm to the Unconverted'), and Richard Alleine, of New Inn Hall, were noted Independents.

In 1666 Wood notes the increase of taxation: 'Paid to the collectors of the pole-money, 1*l.* as a gentleman, and 1*s.* for his head, towards the carrying on the war. It was the first he ever paid. He paid others afterwards in the reign of King William III.'

Sorbière, a French physician, who visited Oxford in 1664, says: 'The meanest college is not inferior to the Sorbonne; there are some that do excel it. There is a physick garden, small, ill-kept, and more like an orchard than a garden. Here is a place of anatomy not worth seeing. The schools were all of them shut up, and there are scarce any lectures read there, because the private ones draw all the scholars thither. Oxford city would be nothing without the colleges: for there are scarce any more inhabitants in it than are enough to serve three or four thousand students, and to cultivate a very delightful plain. We were two days in going by the stage to Oxford, through a fine country, where we were delighted with the sight of Uxbridge, Beconsfield, High Wickham, which they call towns, though they are in strictness nothing more than large unwalled boroughs (*bourgs*). When robbery is committed, the country people

presently take alarm, and pursue so hard that the highwaymen very seldom can make their escape.' Sorbière was told that the 'Brazen nose' represented the nose of Duns Scotus, who had studied at that college. He especially admired St. John's and Christchurch. The old dean, Samuel Fell, had built the staircase leading to the hall, with its rich fan tracery; and his son, Bishop Fell, was now completing the north side of the quadrangle. The octagonal tower on the western gateway was designed by Wren, and in 1680 Great Tom, which had been hung in the tower of the cathedral, was recast and placed in the octagon. Fell is less favourably remembered for having had Wood's 'History' translated into Latin, with unfair alterations, for some of which Wood apologised to Hobbes as not of his doing, which Hobbes acknowledged. Wood was still more unfairly treated when the second volume of his 'Athenæ Oxonienses' was burnt in 1693 at the instigation of the Earl of Clarendon. But as Tyndale's New Testament had been burnt in 1527, and some of Milton's works in 1660, and Hobbes' 'Leviathan' in 1683, a fate also suffered by Ayliffe's 'Ancient and Present State of the University' in 1715, Wood was not alone in suffering from such acts of the University.

In 1668 Pepys gives us an account of a visit to Oxford, which he *did* in part of one day: '9th June we came to Oxford, a very sweet place: paid our guide [on the journey] 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; barber, 2*s.* 6*d.*; book, Stonehenge, 4*s.*; boy that showed me the colleges before dinner, 1*s.* To dinner, and then out with my wife and people and landlord, and to him that showed us the schools and library, 10*s.*; to him that showed

us All Souls' College and Chichly's picture, 5*s*. So to see Christchurch with my wife, I seeing several others very fine alone before dinner, and did give the boy that went with me 1*s*.; strawberries, 1*s*. 2*d*.; dinner and servants, 1*l*. 0*s*. 6*d*. After coming home from the schools, I went with the landlord to Brazen-nose College, to the butteries, and in the cellar find the hand of the Child of Hales [John Middleton, the giant, who died 1623], butler 2*s*. Thence with coach and people to Physic-garden, 1*s*. So to Friar Bacon's Study, I up and saw it and gave the man 1*s*.; bottle of sack for landlord, 2*s*. Oxford mighty fine place and well seated, and cheap entertainment. At night came to Abingdon, where had been a fair of custard, and met many people and scholars going home; and there did get some pretty good musick, and sang and danced till supper, 5*s*.'

In 1681, owing to the excitement in London about the Exclusion Bill, Charles II. summoned Parliament to meet at Oxford on March 21. Convocation House was fitted up for the Commons by raising a scaffold at the north end; the Lords sat in the gallery above. The Vice-Chancellor put out an order about the price of provisions. A pound of sweet and new butter, the best in the market, was 6*d*.; a quarter of the best wether mutton, $3\frac{3}{4}d$. a pound; a pound of tallow candles made of wick, $4\frac{1}{2}d$., of cotton or watching candles, 5*d*. After seven days the King dissolved Parliament, saying, 'Now I am King of England, and was not before.' By patient tactics he had beaten Shaftesbury and the Exclusionists, and for the rest of his reign was nearly absolute.

His vengeance at once fell upon Stephen College,

a London joiner, who had carried a sword and pistol during the session, and was accused of a treasonable attempt to seize the person of the King. His life was sworn away by Dugdale and other infamous witnesses who had sworn away so many lives for the Popish plot; but his courageous defence so discredited them that the Government soon let them drop. College pointed out that 'every footman and horseman that came from London had a case of pistols and a sword'; and it illustrates the character of the time that he says there was hardly a poulterer in London but had pistols, 'and scarce a carpenter and joiner in London but hath pistols when he rides.' The grand jury of London rejected the bill against him, but a Royalist jury was empanelled at Oxford by the sheriff, Lord Norris, and he was condemned for treason, and executed August 31, 1681. 'He was nephew to Edmund College of St. Peter's in the Bayly, and suffered death by hanging in the Castle-yard, and when he had hanged about half an hour was cut down by Catch or Ketch, and quartered under the gallows; his entrails were burnt in a fire made by the gallows.'

In 1682 Wood says: 'Bonfires were made in the several parishes by the Tory party after supper, for joy that the Lord Norris was made Earl of Abingdon, with the ringing of bells. Several colleges had bonfires, All Souls' especially. About eleven at night they brought out a barrel of beer out of the cellar, and drank it in healths on their knees to the Duke of York and Earl of Abingdon, out of the buckets that hung up in the Hall. They got about twenty of the trained bands of Oxford, who discharged at the drinking of

every health; they had wine in great plenty from the tavern over the way, guarded by a file of musqueteers; they had a drummer that beat round the college quadrangle and at the gate: Dr. Clotterbock the captain that ordered these matters.' Later in the year these uproarious habits showed themselves in an objectionable way. Three fellows of All Souls violently insisted on admission into the Mitre at an untimely hour, and so frightened the landlady that she fell into fits and died at three in the morning.

During all this time the city itself was being gradually improved. In 1682 'the highway from near the end of St. Clement's church to the way leading to Marston was pitched with pebbles, and the paths or flankers with hard white stones; began and carried on by Dr. Lamphire with a collection of money.'

The Sheldonian Theatre had been built by Archbishop Sheldon after a design by Wren, and opened July 9, 1669, when the Act was performed there, instead of at St. Mary's. South, as University orator, made a speech, which began with satire against Cromwell, the Royal Society, and the New Philosophy, and ended with invectives against fanatics, conventicles, and comprehension of Nonconformists. The *terrae filius*, who played the part of a University jester, made such a gross speech that Evelyn, who was present, spoke strongly about it to the Vice-Chancellor.

The rule of James II. drove the University into that resistance to royal authority which she had so often condemned; but men are most easily undeceived of their errors by finding that they are themselves hurt by them. The dismay at Oxford was great when James made

Massey, a convert, Dean of Christ Church, with a dispensation from the Act of Uniformity and other laws. Obadiah Walker, Master of University, with two of his fellows, and one of Brasenose, had similar licences. Then the fellows of Magdalen were ordered to elect Antony Farmer president, though the statutes required the president to be a fellow either of Magdalen or of New College. They elected Dr. Hough instead, and, when summoned to London, gave evidence that Farmer was a man of bad character. On this James issued a mandamus, ordering them to elect Dr. Parker the Bishop of Oxford. The King himself on September 3, 1687, came over at five in the evening from Woodstock to enforce the election, and was received with the usual honours. Wood notes that he 'wore an old French coarse hat, not worth a groat.' The guild of Cordwainers had spent 5*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.* in beer and other expenses. 'The city and academicians caused all the highway from New College to Carfax, and so down to Christchurch gate, to be laid thick with gravel, that no horses or coaches could be heard tread or go—but abundance of rain that fell the next day (after the king came in) turned it all to dirt, and the citizens were forced to hire people to shovel it up in Northgate Street. All the rails and posts before the houses in St. Giles and Magdalen parish, on the west side of the street, were taken away, and the ditches that divided their land laying before some of their dores were filled up, and the way made smooth. Within the north gate he found several poor women, all clad in white, with a flasket of herbs, mostly of camomill, who strewed the way therewith, just before the king's horse and retinew, which

made a very great smell in all the street, continuing all the night till the rain came. When he came to Quatervois, he was entertained with the wind-music or waits belonging to the city and universitie, who stood over Penniless Bench; all which time and after, the Conduit ran claret for the vulgar, which was conveyed up there in vessels. All the constables of every parish, within and without the walls, with their staves, came on foot. The companies of glovers, cordwainers, taylors, and mercers, who were few because that many of them, being of the *house*, rode on horseback. These Companies went on foot; at the end of each Company was the master thereof with his gown on. Each Company went apart by themselves, and had a flag or ensign containing the arms of the Company or Corporation painted on them. The taylors, who were most numerous, had two flags, one containing their arms. When they went out, the junior Company, viz.: mercers, went out first.' James touched for the King's Evil in the cathedral on September 4. The fellows of Magdalen were summoned to Christ Church Hall, and the King said, 'Get you gone, know that I, your king, will be obeyed. Go and admit the Bishop of Oxon.' They refused, and twenty-five of them were expelled, with most of the Demies (scholars). The doors of President Hough's lodgings had to be broken open by the servants of James' commissioners, for no Oxford blacksmith could be induced to do it.

But soon after, as the crisis drew on, both King and Church, finding the need of support, began to bid eagerly for the help of the Nonconformists. The leading men invited over William of Orange, in order to

secure the meeting of a free Parliament and prevent a civil war. Some of the colleges are said to have offered William their plate, and there was no doubt as to the feeling of the city. On April 11, 1683, the townsmen in great multitude had shouted 'A Monmouth, a Monmouth, no York!' while the undergraduates, at the Magpie alehouse, near Merton, where the riot began, drank the health of the Duke of York. 'Mr. Sparks, the proctor, lodged one of the townsmen in gaol at the Castle, while a London gentleman, a stranger, kept the mob, who showered stones upon him, at a distance with his sword.' Some citizens were in trouble after Monmouth's rebellion. On June 22, 1685, 'Phillipps of Oxon, chandler, living near to the Cross inn, was, on suspicion of being consenting to the rising of the rebels, committed prisoner to the Castle. Robert Pawling, late of Oxon, mercer, was brought under guard from his house at Hedington by command from the Earl of Abendon, lord-lieutenant of the county, and committed prisoner to the Castle, and Heburne, butler of New Inn.' In 1688 'the judges made strict inquiry after those scholars who had rescued the townsmen from the constable for abusing of Obadiah Walker, and the High Sheriff of the county recommended it to their Lordships' care in an elegant but short speech he made in the court to this effect: "Pray, my Lord, let's have justice, or good night, Nicholas."' And on October 2, 1688, 'The mayor of Cambridge (though once a Quaker) has taken the oath from the Vice-chancellor, but the Mayor of Oxford seems unwilling to do it.' A motion made this year that the City should resign its franchises to the King was nega-

tived by eighty votes to two. Hence, when William's friends, under Lord Lovelace, appeared before Oxford in 1688, the magistrates came out in state to welcome him, and the Whig chiefs rode through the city amidst general acclamations. All the High Street was gay with orange ribands. When the Princess Anne came to Oxford, December 15, 1688, she was received with enthusiasm; and when William passed by Abingdon to Henley he was invited to Oxford, but had to push on to London.

In October 1695 William came from Burford to Oxford, but only stayed a few hours. A feast had been prepared in the Sheldonian Theatre, but it was said that the King had been warned of poison.

In William's reign Sir Thomas Cookes left money to found Worcester College on the site of the old Gloucester Hall or St. John Baptist's Hall. It was not until the present century however that the gardens were laid out (part may have been the old Carmelite garden), and a lake excavated out of a swamp.

On August 24, 1702, Queen Anne came to the city on her way to Bath with her husband, Prince George, who was to try the waters for his asthma, and on this occasion we hear of a struggle between City and University for precedence. The faithful cordwainers laid out money as usual, 'paid at meeting the Queen for bread, cheese, tobacco-pipes, musick, and two links, 2*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*' Anne graciously accepted the usual gift of Woodstock gloves and a Bible, and promised a future visit. She came again in 1708, when on her way to Bath for the same reason. This time there was a vocal

and instrumental concert in the theatre, and a dinner afterwards.

We now have Hearne's Diary, which runs on from 1705 to 1735, and continues the history of Oxford when we lose Antony Wood, who died in 1695. After he was obliged to leave the Bodleian, where he was assistant-keeper, because he would not take the oath of allegiance to George I., Hearne lived in Edmund Hall, and often walked to 'the third house on the left hand after you have passed High Bridge, going from Worcester College,' a tavern called Antiquity Hall, with the sign of Whittington and his Cat, but known in earlier times as the Hole in the Wall. Here he met many young gentlemen of Christ Church, and other *honest* antiquaries, to chat over pot and pipe. *Honest* in Hearne means Jacobite, and the word has a political rather than a moral significance.

In 1712 Cibber brought down the company of his new theatre in Drury Lane. It had been a custom for the comedians, while at Oxford, to act twice a day, the first play ending every morning before the college hours of dining, and the other never broke into the time of shutting their gates in the evening. This extraordinary labour gave all the hired actors a title to double pay, which, at the Act in King William's time, he says, 'I had myself received there.' But on this occasion the managers thought it better policy to have but one performance, though still to continue the double pay. Cibber praises the good taste of the Oxonians, who preferred Shakspere and Ben Jonson, and were not carried away with the false flashy wit and forced humour which had been the delight of our *metropolitan*

multitude. Addison's *Cato* had a run of three days' extreme popularity, and 'entrance demanded by twelve o'clock at noon, and before one it was not wide enough for many who came too late for places.' On leaving Oxford the company were thanked by the Vice-Chancellor for their good behaviour, whereas at the Act in King William's time complaints had been made of their pranks. As their visit was remunerative, they contributed 50*l.* to the repair of St. Mary's Church.

Hearne complains, July 5, 1733, that 'one Handel, a foreigner (who, they say, was born at *Hanover*), being desired to come to Oxford to perform in musick this Act, is come down, the Vice-chancellor, Dr. Holmes, having requested him so to do, and, as encouragement, to allow him the benefit of the theater, both before the Act begins and after it. Accordingly he hath published papers for a performance to-day at five shillings a ticket. This performance began a little after five o'clock in the evening. This is an innovation. The players might be as well permitted to come and act.'

A music room was built in 1742, and it was hoped this would have a humanising effect. 'The money which by part of the university was formerly spent in midnight drinkings, to the ruin of their health, is now employed in securing themselves against those complaints to which by a sedentary and studious course of life they are particularly exposed. And the expenses of the students which, after the example of their leaders, were laid out to much the same purpose, are now devoted to a different channel. A taste for musick, modern languages, and other the polite entertainments of the gentleman have succeeded to clubs and Bacchanalian

routs.' At Commemoration in 1769 the masque of *Acis and Galatea* was performed in the presence of an 'enormous, brilliant audience;' as was the oratorio of *Athaliah* on the next evening, June 15. Improvement is often most visible in the amusements of an age.

Political and religious feuds had by no means died out. Charles II. had left the corporation mainly High Church and Tory, and not ten years after the Revolution we find the Whig or Puritan party carrying the town clerkship against the united powers of the Earl of Abingdon and the corporation. They celebrated their victory with bonfires and rang the bells of St. Giles's all night. And at the election of members of Parliament the same year, 1695, the mob wandered about the city, broke windows, and abused their opponents. 'These,' says Wood, 'are the fanatical or factious party, and show what they will do when they are in authority.' But the townsmen were, in fact, uneasy under the government of a narrow corporation.

During the Hanoverian rule Oxford became the Jacobite capital of England as against London. It was also a considerable local centre, in which country gentlemen, and even the great Sarah of Marlborough, had town houses. London had not drawn so much of English life to itself as it has done since turnpike roads and railways made communication easy. The Oxford mob was now managed by Jacobite money, and may have been partly Jacobite in feeling. Hearne writes on May 29, 1715: 'Last night a good part of the Presbyterian meeting house was pulled down. There was such a concourse of people going up and down, and putting

a stop to the least sign of rejoicing [for the king's birthday], as cannot be described. But then the rejoicing this day (notwithstanding Sunday) was so very great, as hath not been known since the Restoration. There was not a house next the street but was illuminated. For if any disrespect was shown, the windows were certainly broke. The people ran up and down, crying, *King James the Third! The true King! No usurper! The Duke of Ormond!* &c., and healths were everywhere drank suitable to the occasion, and everyone at the same time drank to a new Restoration, which I heartily wish may speedily happen. In the evening they pulled a good part of the Quakers' and Anabaptists' meeting-houses down. This rejoicing hath caused great consternation at court. The heads of houses have represented that it was begun by the Whigs, who meet at the King's Head tavern on Saturday night, under the denomination of the *Constitution Club*, and being about to carry on extravagant designs, they were prevented by an *honest* party that were in an adjoining room, and forced to sneak away.'

The Hanoverian Ministers wisely took little heed of the Jacobite City; their policy was that already expressed by Addison in the 'Freeholder.' At first however it was necessary to send down some troops and proclaim martial law in the city. As George I. had bought Bishop Moore's library, and given it to Cambridge, this gave rise to an epigram which Johnson was fond of quoting. Mrs. Piozzi says, 'Johnson having repeated with an air of triumph the famous epigram written by Dr. Trapp (the first professor of Poetry)—

Our royal master saw, with heedful eyes,
The wants of his two universities :
Troops he to Oxford sent, as knowing why
That learned body wanted loyalty :
But books to Cambridge gave, as well discerning
How that right loyal body wanted learning.

Which, says Sir William Browne the physician, might well be answered thus :

The king to Oxford sent his troop of horse,
For Tories own no argument but force ;
With equal care to Cambridge books he sent,
For Whigs allow no force but argument.

Mr. Johnson did him the justice to say, it was one of the happiest extemporaneous productions he ever met with.'

When Walpole had to withdraw the Excise Bill in 1733, the University bells, with the bells of the parish churches, were rung all night.

But the new dynasty did something for Oxford. George I. founded a Professorship of Modern History in 1724; and Queen Caroline gave 1,000*l.* towards building the eastern wing of Queen's; and when the south-western angle of the college was burnt in 1778 Queen Charlotte gave 1,000*l.* towards its restoration.

Perhaps the last occasion on which the old feeling was strongly displayed was in 1755, when the county election was held in Broad Street. The Jacobites guarded the approaches to the hustings, and would not let the Whig voters come near it. Some 'Queries' published on the occasion ask, 'Did not the Old Interest mob, on the morning of the first day of the poll, seize every access to the front of the booths, and guard it almost

twenty men deep? Was not the same done early every succeeding day of the poll?' The Whigs however were allowed to pass through Exeter College and gave their votes. The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Huddesford, made some strong remarks in a speech, 'on the infamous behaviour of one college,' and this led to a war of pamphlets. But the accession of George III. practically ended Jacobitism, and he was received with boundless enthusiasm by both town and gown, when he came from Earl Harcourt's at Nuneham to visit Oxford in 1785. Of his next visit, on August 18, 1786, we have a lively account in Fanny Burney's Diary. It was in the Long Vacation, and when the royal party were feasting in Christchurch Hall the dons slily provided the back row of maids of honour and equerries with tea, coffee, chocolate, cakes, and bread and butter, while some stood demurely as a screen between the royal banqueters and those in waiting who were engaged in the same employment. The King gave 300*l.* towards releasing poor debtors in the gaol, and a remission to the better conducted convicts of a part of their sentence. Twenty-five out of the twenty-seven debtors in the Castle were thus released.

Conservatives lamented over the change in the dinner hour as a sign of the times. In earlier ages people dined at ten or eleven; and at St. Frideswide's it was at 9 o'clock in 1308. 'With us' (says the preface to Holinshed, i.e. in the time of Queen Elizabeth) 'the nobility, gentry, and students do ordinarily go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to supper at five, or between five and six at afternoon. The merchants dine and sup seldom before twelve at noon and six at night, especially in London. The husband-

men dine also at high noon, as they call it, and sup at seven or eight. But out of the term in our universities the scholars dine at ten.' But Hearne notes, February 10, 1722: 'Whereas the university disputations on Ash Wednesday should begin at one o'clock, they did not begin this year till two or after, which is owing to several colleges having altered their hours of dining from eleven to twelve, occasioned from people's lying in bed longer than they used to do.' And February 27, 1723: 'It hath been an old custom in Oxford for the scholars of all houses, on Shrove Tuesday, to go to dinner at ten o'clock (at which time the little bell, called *pancake bell*, rings, or at least should ring, at St. Maries), and to supper at four in the afternoon; and it was always followed in Edmund Hall, as long as I have been in Oxford, till yesterday, when they went to dinner at twelve, and to supper at six; nor were there any fritters at dinner, as there used always to be. When laudable old customs alter, 'tis a sign learning dwindles.' He also laments over the destruction of old buildings. In 1722 the famous postern-gate called the Turl-gate (a contraction of Thorold-gate) was pulled down 'by one Dr. Walker, who lived by it, and pretended that it was a detriment to his house. Queen's also pulled down the old refectory, which was on the west side of the old quadrangle, and was a fine old structure that I used to admire much.'

The long twenty years' peace under Walpole, from 1720 onwards, restored England and restored Oxford. The remaining soundness in the body reacted against the corruption and gradually overcame it. The great religious revival took two directions, one intellectual,

the other emotional. The deistic controversy was fought and won by a series of remarkable writers, such as Bishop Butler, who was at Oriel in 1714. In 1720 John Wesley was at Christ Church, and was thence elected to a fellowship at Lincoln. About 1730 he and his brother Charles founded the religious brotherhood soon known as Methodists.

The plans of action among the Methodists were various. Some conversed with young students and endeavoured to rescue them from evil company, and to encourage them in a sober and studious life. Others undertook the instruction and relief of impoverished families; others the charge of some particular school; and others of the parish workhouse. Some or other of them went daily to the Castle, and to the City Prison, reading in the chapel, to as many of the prisoners as would attend, books like the 'Christian Monitor' and the 'Country Parson's Advice to his Parishioners,' and then summing up the reading in a few sentences. Out of their own scanty means, and by quarterly contributions from others, they raised a fund to purchase boots, medicines, and other necessaries for the prisoners, and to relieve those who were confined for debts of small amount. They read prayers at the Castle on most Wednesdays and Fridays, preached a sermon to the prisoners every Sunday, and administered the Sacrament once a month. One of the schools which they visited was a school which Wesley himself had founded, where he paid the mistress and some, if not all, of the children of which he clothed. It was the practice of these men to give away each year all they had after providing for their own

necessities; and in illustration, Wesley adds (meaning his own case): 'One of them had thirty pounds a year. He lived on twenty-eight, and gave away forty shillings. The next year, receiving sixty pounds, he still lived on twenty-eight, and gave away thirty-two. The third year he received ninety pounds, and gave away sixty-two. The fourth year he received a hundred and twenty pounds; still he lived as before on twenty-eight, and gave to the poor all the rest.'

We may now sketch the state of things in the city when the Wesleys and their friends tried to do something for the prisoners and the poor. A letter from John Clayton, of Brasenose, to John Wesley, August 1, 1732, throws light on the doings and difficulties of the Oxford Methodists, and gives curious notices about Oxford itself. 'Bocardo, I fear, grows worse upon my hands; they have done nothing but quarrel ever since you left us; and they carried matters so high on Saturday that the bailiffs were sent for, who ordered Tomlyns to be fettered and put in the dungeon, where he lay some hours, and then, upon promise of his good behaviour, was released again.

'The Castle is, I thank God, in much better condition. All the felons were acquitted except Salmon, who is referred to be tried at Warwick; and the sheep-stealer, who is burnt in the hand, and who, I verily believe, is a great penitent. Jempro is discharged, and I have appointed Harris to read to the prisoners in his stead. Two of the felons likewise have paid their fees and are gone out, both of them able to read mighty well. There are only two in the gaol who want this accomplishment —John Clanville, who reads but moderately, and the

horse-stealer, who cannot read at all. He knows all his letters, however, and can spell most of the common monosyllables. I hear them both read three times a week; and, I believe, Salmon hears them so many times a day.

'One of my college scholars has left me, but the others go on mighty well. The woman, who was a perfect novice, spells tolerably; and so does one of the boys; and the others make shift to read with spelling every word that is longer than ordinary. The boys can both say their catechism as far as the end of the Commandments, and can likewise repeat the morning and evening prayer for children in Ken's Manual.

'Mrs. Tireby has been very ill this last week, so that she has made no great proficiency. I am to go down at six o'clock to hear the determination of a meeting of St. Thomas' parish respecting separating Bossum and his wife. When I had promised to give a crown towards clothing the woman, and the overseer had determined to take her in upon that condition, the churchwarden would needs have him try to put the man upon me too, to get a crown towards clothing him; but, as he is able to work for his living, I don't think him a proper object for charity; nor can I at this time afford to do anything for him, because I am apprehensive that I must be forced to contribute to Salmon's relief, who will want near twenty shillings to subpœna proper witnesses to Warwick at his trial; and I cannot but think it a much greater act of charity to relieve a suffering innocent than to relieve an idle beggar.

'I have been twice at the school, namely, on Tuesday and Saturday last, and intend to go again as

soon as I have finished this letter. The children all go on pretty well except Jervaise's boy, who, I find, truants till eleven o'clock in a morning. I threatened the boy what we would do to him if ever he truanted any more, and he has promised (as all children do) that he will do so no more; nay, his mother assures me that she will take care for the future that he shall not. I got a shilling for her from our Vice-Principal, and gave her sixpence myself, to preserve the gown that is in pawn from being sold; and the woman who has it promised not to sell it, provided Jervaise will bring her sixpence a week towards redeeming it.

'I have obtained leave to go to St. Thomas' workhouse twice a week. I am sure the people stand much in need of instruction, for there is hardly a soul that can read in the whole house, and those that can don't understand one word of what they read. Pray don't forget a few Common Prayer-books for the Castle.'

In 1743 a Methodist farmer was indicted at the Oxfordshire Assizes for permitting 'a prayer-meeting to be held in his own house.' On March 11, 1768, six of Wesley's followers were expelled from Edmund Hall (though the Principal defended them) by the Vice-Chancellor acting as Visitor of the Hall—an act deplored by men like Bishop Horne. It was justified by Charles II.'s Conventicle Act and by a University statute. The indictment said that they were illiterate persons, and that some of them had been bred to trades—one of them had been a draper, one a barber, another a weaver. They had attended conventicles and consorted with reputed Methodists; had preached in a barn to a mixed multitude, talked of *drawing nigh unto*

God, frequented the house of Hewet, a staymaker, who was known to offer extempore prayer, and had been heard to say *they must sit down and wait for the Spirit*. One had officiated in a chapel before coming to the University.

In the eighteenth century considerable improvements were effected in the city and its neighbourhood. The college gardens received much attention. In 1706 Trinity Grove was altered and Merton summer-house built, and in 1707 a terrace walk seventy-four yards long was made in Merton on the old Town Wall. But Uffenbach, in 1710, says: 'The garden of Merton, considered the finest in Oxford, consists of a grove or some low dark walks which, as they have no proper air, are not pleasant. At the side is a raised path and a poor pleasure house.' Three days later he walked in the *allée* behind Magdalen. Bishop John Earle had written 'Hortus Mertonensis' in 1624, in which he contrasts the natural growth of the trees with the stiff Dutch clipping of shrubs into grotesques. He mentions the game of bowls and the rustic seats. The bowling-greens of the colleges were favourite places of resort, especially those at Magdalen and New College, and Addison wrote some elegant Latin verse on them. Bowls were played in the college gardens in the evenings until the present generation, when the late dinner hours put an end to the game; perhaps however lawn tennis is partly responsible for the change. Uffenbach also says: 'Next we went on to a garden which they call Paradise Garden. This is hard by an end of the town, near a tavern, which is in connection with it, and at the back of which, on the water, are countless

little boxes, partitioned by hedges, where the fellows drink in summer. There are beautiful fruit-trees and many yew-trees.' This pleasaunce appears in Agas' map at the back of the river, to the south of the Castle. In 1716 the walk under the Town Wall (commonly called Dead Man's Walk, from being so warm as to revive a man almost dead with cold—others say the name originated in men being shot there during the siege in Charles I.'s time), at the back of Merton College, was raised. In the Middle Ages Merton Wall looked down on a branch of the river. At the same time Christchurch White Walk was made wider and part of the said wall rebuilt. In 1717 the back door to Merton Gardens was shut up on account of its being too much frequented by young scholars and ladies on Sunday nights. 'Last week was published a sixpenny pamphlet, written in verse by one, as 'tis said, of St. John's, called "Merton Walks; or, the Oxford Beauties" [the famous Oxford Toasts]. One is Mrs. Fiddes, that lodges against the Angel Inn, at Shipway's the barber's, very conceited, but void of understanding.' 'Thereupon the young gentlemen and others betook themselves to Magdalen Walk, which is now (1723) every Sunday night in summer time strangely filled, just like a fair.'

In the latter part of the century the improvement of the city itself was attended to. The Commissioners Act of 1771 enabled some active-minded men in the University and City to effect valuable changes. Convocation and the Common Council each named six Commissioners to carry out the work. Besides widening, paving, and repairing the principal streets, a new

market was constructed, on an area between Jesus College Lane and High Street, which was previously covered with houses, stables, and gardens, and had various passages into it on the north and south sides, and two from the Turl—one of them called Maiden Head Lane. On the actual site of the new market had been the markets for drugs and spices (our ancestors were fond of spiced drinks, but *spices* was a large term, nearly equal to *groceries*), and some old Academical Halls. The erection of forty butchers' shops, let for 10*l.* apiece, enabled the old street standings to be done away. A shed, supported by stone pillars and covered with a leaden roof, originally ran down the middle of Cornmarket Street, and obstructed that thoroughfare. Similarly there were shambles in the middle of Butcher Row. Some buildings on the north and south sides of Carfax were removed to widen the street, and Butter Bench ceased to be used, where the market women were sheltered by a projecting roof in rainy weather. It was close to the old tavern called Swyndlestock, afterwards the Mermaid, and then the Fleur de Luce, memorable as the place where the conflict began on St. Scholastica's Day, 1355. The lumbering array of signs and penthouse shops was swept away; the streets better paved and better lighted; the kennels over which Johnson stood so long astride, rapt in meditation, disappeared.

In 1786 the Street Commissioners ordered informations to be laid against 'such of the inhabitants as shall neglect to have the pavement swept before their respective doors' four times a week, and against persons 'suffering postchaises, carts, or waggons to remain in

the public streets, and particularly in Lincoln and Jesus College Lanes, on market days.' Ninety inhabitants of High Street were fined for neglect of these directions. In October of that year it was determined that the conduit which blocked up Carfax should be taken down before Lady-day, and the northern side of High Street next to it opened by setting back the projecting houses, and building in a right line with the front of the new market. The conduit was presented to Earl Harcourt in 1787, who re-erected it at Nuneham. Still later a communication was made by a new road running between Wadham and St. John's and through the Parks, from the end of Broad Street to the Banbury Road.

Another great improvement was in the state of the roads. Already in Laud's time the inhabitants of Milton and other places had stated in a petition that they 'have bestowed great costs and charges in repairing their highways, through their several parishes, leading from the University of Oxford towards London; that the carriers of Oxford do carry such unreasonable carriages, sometimes 40, 50, or 60 tun [? hundredweight] at a load, by which means they do spoil the highways, that notwithstanding the petitioners' great and extraordinary charge in continual repairing of them, the ways are made almost impassable.' The carriers were consequently ordered 'not to travel with above six horses in a waggon.' About 1760 'the roads of Oxfordshire were in a condition formidable to the bones of all who travelled on wheels. The two great turnpikes which crossed the county by Witney and Chipping Norton, by Henley and Wycombe, were repaired in

some places with stones as large as they could be brought from the quarry, and, when broken, left so rough as to be calculated for dislocation rather than exercise.' The heavy stage wagons, whose broad wheels alone made an impression on these formidable masses, were stopped for days or weeks by floods and snow. Bridges were scarce, save in the vicinity of towns, and lighter vehicles often found themselves exposed to serious danger in crossing the fords. Pope, who often passed through Oxford on his way to Colonel Dormer's, nearly lost his life through an accident of this kind. His carriage was overturned, and the poet, at the last moment, had to be dragged out through the window. The country lanes were worse, and many cross-roads impassable, except with real danger, so that the neighbouring farmers' horses had often to be borrowed to drag *voyagers* out of the sloughs. In 1734, 'as the Prince of Orange was coming from Newbury to Abingdon to see Oxford, and the road going through a lane impassable for a coach and very dangerous, a wealthy farmer, whose estate lay contiguous, threw down the hedges and opened the way for his Highness to pass through his grounds.' But 'a noble change,' writes Arthur Young in 1809, 'has taken place, by turnpikes which cross the county in every direction. This holds good with Oxford, Woodstock, Witney, and most towns. The parish roads are greatly improved, but are still capable of much more. The turnpikes are very good and, where gravel is to be had, excellent.' Good roads cost about 1,760*l.* a mile to make, and in 1829 there were 342 miles of turnpike road in Oxfordshire. Along these roads rolled hundreds of coaches, whose superiority

in speed to all previous means of locomotion was as great as that of the railway now. Palmer's mail-coaches in 1784 similarly improved the conveyance by post.

Stage coaches to London are first heard of in 1667. Wood says: '14 June he went to London in the stage coach. His companions were all scholars, among whom was Obadiah Walker, the senior fellow of University College. They all lodged that night at Beaconsfield.' And May 3, 1669: 'Monday was the first day that the flying coach went from Oxon to London in one day. A. W. went in the same coach, having then a boot on each side. Among the six men that went was Mr. Richard Holloway, a counsellor of Oxon, afterwards a judge. They then (according to the Vice-chancellor's order, stuck up in all public places), entred into the coach at the tavern dore against All Souls College, precisely at 6 in the morning, and at 7 at night they were all set down in their inn at London.' Holloway, who lived 'against the Blew-bore in S. Aldate's,' made Wood's will in 1695. Four others of the family lived at Oxford, and all five were described in hexameter verse as—

> Sarjeant, Barrester, Necessitie, Notarie, Mercer,
> Gravely dull, ill-spoken, lawless, cum *pergere*, broker.

The second was the future judge, and the fourth his father. The third was named from his ignorance, because 'Necessity has no law.' A notice in the Oxford Almanack for 1692 runs: 'From Our Lady-day unto Michaelmas the coaches go every day in the week between Oxford and London and carry passengers in one day, every passenger paying ten shillings. But

after Michaelmas unto Our Lady-day the coaches go out every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, and carry passengers in two days, each passenger paying ten shillings.' In the eighteenth century we hear that a 'flying machine, allowed by Dr. Randolph the Vice-chancellor, is advertised to set out from John Kemp's, over against Queen's College in the High Street, six times a week during the summer season, at five in the morning.' It was a great change, for mediæval law-books give as an instance of an impossible contract—an undertaking to carry goods between Oxford and London in one day.

The roads were infested with highwaymen till a late date. The 'Oxford Journal' for 1783 says: 'Divers felonies and depredations having been lately made and committed on the persons and property of the inhabitants of Oxford, its suburbs and neighbourhood, it has been resolved to promote an association for a joint protection of the subscribers, and for prosecuting all persons guilty of felonies committed upon any of the members of the association, as well as for rewarding such persons as shall give information, apprehend, or bring to conviction any offender.' The committee consisted of the mayor and fourteen others. For the detection of a burglar or incendiary a reward of ten guineas was offered; half that sum for the discovery of a highwayman, or foot-robber, or receiver of stolen goods. No compromise with persons arrested was to be allowed, and the prosecutor's share of all rewards given by Act of Parliament was to be added to the premium offered by the association for their apprehension. But on February 28, 1784, 'between seven and

eight o'clock last Monday evening, one of the Bath coaches was robbed upon the galloping ground above Botley, about two miles and a half from this city, by two men on foot, who took from the passengers upwards of 24*l.* in money, with their watches. But at the request of the driver they returned all the watches except one, and went off with their booty. There were six passengers in the coach and two outsides.'

The enclosures too made a great difference to Oxford. The city had been in the centre of large unenclosed districts, under the open field system. 'More land has been enclosed,' says Young, 'in this county since I first travelled in it forty years ago than in any county in England.' Sixty-seven Enclosure Acts were passed for the county during the first forty years of George III.'s reign; and the great range of open country from Banbury to Chipping Norton was parcelled out into fields and farms. Yet even then Wychwood still spread over 7,000 acres, filling its vicinity with poachers, deer-stealers, and pilferers of every kind. 'Oxford Gaol would be uninhabited, were it not for this fertile source of crime.' The extent of wild country, too, naturally favoured the highwaymen. On Otmoor the commoners were backed by Lord Abingdon in resisting the enclosure; and, notwithstanding the 'rot' and 'moor evil' of the flooded flats, its enclosure gave rise to the famous Otmoor Riots in September 1830. Some prisoners were brought to Oxford, but in passing through St. Giles' fair the villagers were rescued from the militia by their friends. When the great limestone tracts in the west of the county were brought under cultivation, many of the wild plants for which the

county was famous became rare, and some extinct. It was not till our own day that Bagley Wood and Cowley and Bullingdon Commons were enclosed. Bullingdon was rich in flowers and mosses, but it is now drained and yields a scanty crop of corn and potatoes. The City of Oxford has produced several eminent botanists, among them Mr. G. C. Druce, who has just published an excellent book on the Flora of Oxfordshire. But they lament with our Oxford poet that—

Many a dingle on the loved hillside,
With thorns once studded, old white-blossomed trees,
Where thick the cowslips grew, and far descried
High towered the spikes of purple orchises,
Hath since our day put by
The coronals of that forgotten time ;
Down rich green banks hath gone the ploughboy's team,
And only in the hidden brookside gleam
Primroses, orphans of the flowery prime.

Manufactures have also much altered the state of things. In the middle of the last century every cottager at Baldon, near Oxford, had a plot of hemp, and all manufactured linen for their own use, selling what they could spare. This lasted till about 1803.

The canal, opened to Banbury in 1778, and completed in 1790, joined on to the Coventry Canal, and in connexion with some great collieries enabled coal to be brought down from Staffordshire and Leicestershire. Before this, about 1780, 'the people at Heyford were greatly distrest for firing, wood being scarce ; they were obliged to burn straw or anything they could procure, but are now as well supplied with coals as any village in Oxfordshire.' In the great frost of 1795 the canal

was closed for ten weeks, coals were brought by land carriage from Birmingham to Oxford, and sold at four shillings a hundredweight.

The population of the city in 1801 was 10,936 (exclusive of the University), in 1,878 houses; that of the county was about 96,000. In 1881 the city contained 34,144 in 6,588 houses, and we must add about 3,000 for the University. Even these numbers do not express the full growth of the place, for the houses now extend beyond the boundaries and almost touch the neighbouring villages of Summertown, Iffley, Cowley, Headington, and Littlemore. The Parliamentary limits however include 40,837 persons, and in 1884 there were 6,495 electors, including 825 freemen; while in 1886 the numbers were 7,096, of whom 689 were freemen. There is an average of a little more than five persons to a house. The Act of 1771 formed eleven parishes into the Oxford Union; while five parishes, including the new district in St. Giles's, are attached to the Headington Union.

The old springs are supposed to be contaminated by sewage, and the modern water supply is derived from a lake excavated by the side of the railway, which is filled by filtration through the gravel in the bed of the valley.

The opening of the Radcliffe Infirmary in 1770 marks an era in the charities of Oxford. To Dr. John Radcliffe, who was the first physician in London at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Oxford is indebted for an observatory and a library of medical and scientific books, as well as for the infirmary, and he was also a benefactor to his old college, University. The grounds

of the infirmary, five acres in extent, were given by Thomas Rowney, the member for the City. Children's and Fever Wards are now attached to it. In 1774 a futile attempt was made to stop inoculation for the small-pox.—'Whereas attempts have been made to inoculate persons for the small pox within the University and City of Oxford, to the great terror of the inhabitants, we, the Vice-Chancellor and Mayor of the said University and City, do hereby will and command that, for the future, no attempt of this kind be made, nor inoculation be practised within the said University and City.'

Gaols and hospitals were still in a very bad state. John Howard visited the county gaol in the Castle in the last quarter of the century, and found that 'the debtors had no free ward, and for lodging, even in the tower *on their own beds*, they had to pay 1*s.* 6*d.* a week. The felons' day-room for *men and women*, down five steps, was 23 feet by 11; the men's dungeon, down five more, was 18½ by 16½, with only small apertures, and swarming with vermin; the women's night room, 6½ by 4⅙; the court common to both, 29 by 23. Since the north gate [Bocardo] had been taken down, this prison became the city gaol also. There was no infirmary, no bath, no straw, the prisoners lay in their clothes on mats.' In April, 1782, one of the prisoners was a woman committed for *contempt*, with no *charge* or *fine*. The warrant runs: 'As Royal Power ought not to be wanting to the holy church in its complaints, attach till she has made satisfaction to the holy church —as well for the contempt as for the injury done unto it.' (She must have been excommunicated or under censure, and been unable to pay the fine.) 'It is very

probable that the rooms in this Castle are the same as the prisoners occupied at the time of the *Black Assize*. The wards, passages, and staircases are close and offensive; so that, if crowded, I should not greatly wonder to hear of another fatal assize at Oxford. In 1773 eleven died of the small-pox.' In the preface he notices the prevalence everywhere of gaol fever and small-pox. He adds as to the County Hospital: 'A modern shewy building'—'the stories are too low, the height of the loftiest wards not being above fifteen feet. From this fault, and the closeness of the windows, which I have always found shut, the wards, especially the *men's*, are offensive beyond conception. The sewers are not sufficiently attended to; the beds, improperly, have testers, and the kitchen is not well placed. The fan-lights, over the doors of the wards, in this as in many other hospitals, are glazed. Were they open, it would greatly tend to purify the air; or, at least, the noxious effluvia would become so sensible through the rest of the house, as might induce the matron, and the gentlemen who only attend in the committee-room, to insist upon effectual means being used for a proper ventilation of the wards.'

A few notices connect Oxford with our military history. Proclamation of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was made February 10, $174\frac{8}{9}$, at the Conduit on Carfax, and then at St. Mary's, where the University met the city procession, and then at the four gates. The companies of Shoemakers, Mercers, Grocers, Hatters, Glovers, Butchers, wore red and white cockades; the Masons' decorations were of red and blue; the badge of the Smiths was red and orange.

The 'Royal Oxfordshire' regiment of light infantry, known as the 'fighting fifty-second,' was a celebrated regiment; and volunteers were enlisted for it at the Mitre in 1759. Now the 43rd is the first Oxfordshire battalion, the 52nd the second, while the Bucks and Oxfordshire Militia form the third and fourth battalions. Oxford took its part in the Volunteer movement, and in 1798 the Duke of York reviewed 20,000 volunteers on Port Meadow.

In 1766 there were bread riots at Oxford and Woodstock owing to the high price of wheat. The mob at Oxford attacked all the adjacent mills, and divided the flour in the market-place. In 1795 the Oxford Militia mutinied at Bletchington, nine miles from Brighton, owing to the high price of provisions. They cleared the butchers' stalls of their contents, and sold their meat at fourpence a pound; insisted on a farmer selling wheat at 12*l.* a load, and carried off his flour to the value of 5,000*l.*, to sell at a 'fair price' at Lewes market next day. For the night they encamped at Newhaven, where they were surrounded and made prisoners by the Lancashire Fencibles. Four of the ringleaders were executed, and the Militia degraded from being a Royal regiment; it was named in derision 'Bigloaf Oxford.' It was reorganised at Woodstock in 1852, after an interval of twenty-one years, during which it had not been called out for service; and volunteered to serve abroad in 1854, when it was sent to garrison Corfu.

In 1768 Oxford became remarkable for an act of bribery committed by the city collectively. There was a heavy debt, and the ruling body wrote to the sitting members, Sir Thomas Stapylton and Robert Lee, that

they would elect them again at the next general election for the sum of 7,506*l.* The members read this letter in the House (not till after a very long interval, according to Wilkes), on which all those who had signed the letter were taken into custody by the Sergeant-at-Arms, and committed to Newgate. On their humble petition they were discharged, after five days in Newgate, with a reprimand, gravely delivered by the Speaker. On their return to Oxford they disposed of the two seats to the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Abingdon. The Duke presented the city with 5,983*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.*, in 1769; entertained the freemen at fifty public-houses, and the corporation in the Council Chamber, August 19, 1769. He also used to give a fifty-pound plate at the races. The Duke usually returned one member for the county also, as well as one for Woodstock—which, with Banbury, had received the right of sending members in Mary's time. Henceforward, until 1796, the two members were nominated by the two peers. Of course constant presents were made to the city and to the freemen. In 1790 the Town Hall was restored and made commodious by the Marquis of Blandford; and his father, the Duke, presented the room with a magnificent gilt chandelier and chain. In 1796, Henry Peters came forward as an independent candidate, and was elected after an expensive contest. For some time after this, the Duke practically returned one member, and the other seat was contested. Besides about fifteen magistrates and the council, all the freemen had the right of voting. In 1883 the election writ was suspended for bribery, and in 1885, under the new Reform Act, the City lost one of her members. In 1885, also, a question

arose as to what residents in college could vote for the city elections, and it was decided in favour of fellows, but against undergraduates, since their tenancy of rooms was precarious.

City and University too have gradually agreed to settle their points of difference. Why should old feuds be continued?

In 1824 the Corporation asked for the abolition of the old ceremony and payment on St. Scholastica's Day, and the University consented to it the next year, on condition that the Corporation should take a yearly oath to maintain the ancient privileges; but this too was dropped about 1854. The colleges had been exempt from the poor rate, and it was not till 1843 that the city was able to fight the question. It was non-suited, but the colleges felt that the exemption was unfair, and a friendly arrangement was come to. The University now pays its share of the rates, in practice a third of the whole amount; but when a combined Poor Rate Act was obtained in 1854, the University consented not to exercise the right of voting, which is naturally attached to payment of rates. But this has been partially altered as to the Parliamentary franchise, as mentioned above. The University and city police were amalgamated in 1870, and both the ruling bodies have now a share in the management. Similarly the Oxford Poor-law Union is managed by two members elected by Convocation, ten by the Heads and Bursars, eleven by the Corporation, and eleven by the eleven parishes—thirty-four in all. So, again, the Local Board consists of forty-seven members—four elected by Convocation, eleven by the Heads and Bursars, sixteen by the Council,

and sixteen by the eighteen parishes. The School Board is formed of seven members—three from the University and four from the city. Since the expansion of the University, and especially since the introduction of unattached, or non-collegiate, students in 1868, the lodging system has been much extended; and in this, too, we have returned to the earlier mediæval custom, but with much more adequate control and security, for the lodgings, nearly six hundred in number, are specially inspected for sanitary purposes, and licensed.

And now, with equal taxation and equality before the law, we may hope that all the old feuds are at an end. Even the Fifth of November is no longer marked by a riot, and a city election no longer leads to a fight.

It is now proposed to consolidate the various boards into one Municipal Council, and extend the limits of the City so as to include all the districts which really belong to Oxford. There ought not to be in our towns different rating authorities, different areas of taxation and jurisdiction, and often different methods of assessments and different collectors. A smaller and more powerful ruling body too would probably draw more leading citizens to share in the government of the place. The University would form a sixth ward and be represented in the Council proportionately to its rateable value. May such be the end of the long discord.

CHAPTER VII.

MODERN OXFORD.

Summary—Progress of Education—The Religious Movement—A Visitor's Survey of the City.

We can only touch lightly on the events of this century; how Nelson received the freedom of the City in 1802, and was made a D.C.L. by the University; how George III.'s Jubilee was celebrated in 1809 and money collected to free the poor debtors in the Castle; how the Allied Sovereigns were welcomed with great festivities in 1814; how the Apollo Lodge of Freemasons was founded in 1819—the City has several Lodges, including the Alfred, which began in 1769, but was suspended for some time after 1783; how the city was first lighted with gas in 1819; how Carfax church was rebuilt in 1822, and Folly Bridge 1827, and St. Clement's church 1828, and Beaumont Street constructed in 1829; how the Union was founded in 1823, as the 'United Debating Society'; how the city suffered from the cholera in 1832, 1849, and 1854; how the British Association held meetings here in 1832 and 1847, and the Archæological Institute in 1850; and how the Royal Agricultural Society was founded at Oxford in 1839; how the first cricket match with Cambridge took place in 1837, and the first outrigger race in 1846, when Cambridge won; how

the Great Western line from Didcot was opened to a station near Folly Bridge in 1844, and continued to Banbury in 1852, and a new line made to London through Thame in 1863, while the London and North-Western line to London through Bletchley was opened in 1851; how many people who went to Wellington's funeral in 1852 had difficulty in returning home owing to part of the Great Western line being washed away by a flood (there were other heavy floods in 1846 and 1875); how the City Public Library was founded in 1852; how there were bread riots in 1868, and some of the Coldstream Guards were sent down from London; how the Queen and Prince Albert came repeatedly to visit the place, and the Prince of Wales and Prince Leopold became members of the University; how the two rifle corps of the City and University were founded in 1860, and a review held on Port Meadow in 1863; and how a volunteer fire brigade was formed in 1870. The present constitution of the City of course dates from the Municipal Act of 1835, which superseded James I.'s charter of 1605. There are now ten aldermen and thirty councillors to represent the five wards, which extend considerably beyond the old boundaries, and include South Hincksey and parts of Cowley and Headington, besides the old North Hundred. Each ward is represented by two aldermen and six councillors. Five aldermen go out of office every third year, and two councillors of each ward every year.

The whole system of University teaching has been remodelled during this century, and separate honour schools instituted for separate subjects, a system which began in 1802. A first class in mathematics was not

granted till 1808, when it was given to a single student, who also took a first in classics; he was not quite twenty-one, his name was Robert Peel. The next double first was given to John Keble. Schools for Law and History and Natural Science were added in 1853, and a museum and laboratories and an observatory were built in the Parks. Schools for theology and for Oriental studies have been instituted more recently. It still remains to provide for English language and literature. Bacon long ago remarked, 'There is no education collegiate which is free, where men might give themselves to histories, modern languages, books of policy and civil discourse, and other the like enablements unto service of State.' Sir John Herschel adds that 'education should be more *real* than *formal*, i.e. less weight should be attached to the dead languages, and more attention paid to the actual system and laws of nature, both physical and moral; to the principles of political economy, of jurisprudence, of trade; to either mathematics or inductive philosophy.' The middle-class examinations have connected the University with schools all over the country. And even the long injustice towards women in the matter of education is being partly atoned for. There are two ladies' halls, Lady Margaret and Somerville Halls, and women are now admitted to the examinations.

Two new colleges have been founded, Keble in 1870, and Hertford in 1874—under happier auspices than the old Hertford College; and a new Nonconformist college was established in 1886. Many colleges too have added to their buildings. An Indian Institute has been built in Broad Street, and the non-collegiate students will

soon have central offices of their own. Nor has Oxford been unaffected by the wave of religious reaction which swept over Europe after the French Revolution. But here 'the fires still glow under the ashes,' and the time has hardly come for writing the history of the Oxford movement of 1833. How speak of what is thus described by two men who took part in it? One speaks of it as 'a period which in my memory is as a golden age. The characters themselves have to me an unearthly radiance . . . but I do not think one of them (save Keble) would be a living name a century hence but for his share in the light of Newman's genius and goodness.' The other, also an admirer of Newman, says, Tractarianism was only one phase—the indispensable reactionary and complementary phase—in the movement of thought which belongs to the nineteenth century. . . . Newman's conversion was a deliverance from the nightmare which had oppressed Oxford for fifteen years. For so long we had been given over to discussions unprofitable in themselves, and which had entirely diverted our thoughts from the true business of the place. Probably there was no period of our history during which, I do not say science and learning, but the ordinary study of the classics, was at so profitless or so low an ebb as during the period of the Tractarian controversy. By the secession of 1845 this was extinguished in a moment, and from that moment dates the regeneration of the University.' But no spiritual and generous effort dies out without leaving enduring results, especially when it has enhanced the sense of brotherhood and of the increasing purpose that runs through the ages.

There are now twenty-two churches within the city boundary, and sixteen chapels or meeting rooms, five belonging to the Baptists, one to the Brethren, one to the Free Church of England, two Independent, one Irvingite, six belonging to the various bodies of Methodists, one to the Roman Catholics. A list of charities in the parishes is given in the Charity Commission Report of 1828, pp. 145–8. High schools have lately been founded for boys and girls; there is an undenominational elementary school and a school of art, besides the various denominational schools. Magdalen School still retains its fame.

The visitor who reaches Oxford by rail sees little, from the Great Western or North-Western stations, of the fragments of Osney and Rewley Abbeys. But on his way up the main road to the city he observes on the right the conical mound of earth raised by Alfred's dynasty as a fortress against the Danes and, as the Norman castle has nearly vanished, its appearance is not perhaps very different from what it was almost a thousand years ago. On reaching the High Street he sees the old city church of St. Martin's, at the meeting of the 'four ways' called Carfax, and if church and tower seem to him low, let him remember that they were lowered in the fourteenth year of Edward III., because the citizens galled and annoyed the students from thence with arrows and stones. Not so long ago the curfew bell was still rung at the church at eight o'clock, and this was followed by the bell being tolled a number of times corresponding to the day of the month. On his right he looks down St. Aldate's, to the Great Tom gate of Christ Church, with Pembroke opposite. On the left

he looks up Cornmarket to Robert d'Oilgi's tower of St. Michael's, on the line of the old wall, once next to Northgate and Bocardo Prison, which have vanished; and this street leads on, past the Martyrs' Memorial at the end of St. Mary Magdalen church, into the broad expanse of St. Giles's, between St. John's on the right and the University Galleries on the left. Before him lies the High Street, and as he follows what Wordsworth calls 'the stream-like windings of that glorious street,' he will see on his left Aldrich's church of All Saints, and St. Mary's with the porch surmounted by Virgin and Child and crucifix, that cost Laud so dear; and All Souls', with the relief over the gateway representing the souls ascending from Purgatory, a reminiscence of Azincourt; and Queen's, where Henry V. was educated, and Edmund Hall, dear to Hearne, and Magdalen, with Wolsey's tower and the outer stone pulpit, once used on every anniversary of St. John the Baptist, when the whole place was covered with green shrubs. He will be struck by the number of spires and towers in Oxford, in contrast with Cambridge, for the two sisters are rather equal than alike. The view looking back from Magdalen Bridge is something to be seen on a summer evening, and the oolitic stone of the buildings lights up as the sunset is dying away and seems long to retain the parting glow. On the other side of the street as he returns are the New Schools and the massive strength of University. Thence he may turn down the narrow mediæval lanes, such as Logic Lane, which guide him to the passage into Christ Church Meadow, between Merton and Corpus—Merton, with its fine chapel and tower and mediæval library;

and Corpus, the college of the Renaissance, where above the gateway angels still bear the Host. Opposite it are the fine creeping plants that cover Oriel Chapel. Either by this way, or, still better, through the two quadrangles of Christ Church and under the gateway of the Hall, he may pass into the meadow and see the Broad Walk, and the Isis covered with boats and barges, which Commemoration visitors remember so well. The Broad Walk was planted with elms after the Restoration; but the elm barely lives two centuries, and the finest trees have passed away. On the Sunday evening before Commemoration this walk used to be crowded with visitors, and the authorities in their academic robes; but late dinners have robbed Show Sunday of its open-air attractions. Christ Church Hall should be seen. It has many portraits, including those of Henry VIII. and Wolsey. The Cardinal had a drooping eyelid, and is therefore only painted in side face, while Henry, who had large ears, is painted full face. There is a picture of Canning among those of other leaders in Church and State, 'like a fox among bears,' says Huber maliciously. On the other side again of the High he may pass through one of several openings into Broad Street, either by Edmund Hall into New College Lane, and so out where a little imaged niche in a house marks the site of Smithgate, or through the Turl by Lincoln and Exeter and Jesus, or between both on either side of St. Mary's into the Radcliffe Square with its dome, and so through the Schools Quadrangle (on the right is King James's Tower, with the five orders of architecture on its front), and on by the Sheldonian Theatre and out into Broad Street, once the

deep city ditch where the martyrs were burnt in Mary's time, just in front of the house of the Master of Balliol, which then had a square terrace of trees in front of it, just as St. John's has at present. He may continue on his route between Trinity and Wadham to see Keble College and the Parks, and if he pauses on the way to enter Wadham gardens and look back from the great copper beech to the old grey buildings, it is a sight he will not soon forget. Some of the garden walls, especially at Wadham, are covered with the Cheddar pink, and with the yellow flowers of the Oxford ragwort (*Senecio chrysanthemifolius*, or *squalidus*); and J. H. Newman, as a freshman, used to watch the snapdragon on the walls of Trinity. Magdalen Meadow and the fields above Iffley Lock, and much of this part of the Thames Valley, are rich in spring with purple fritillary or snake's-head lily—

> I know what white, what purple fritillaries
> The grassy harvest of the river fields
> Above by Ensham, down by Sandford, yields,
> And what sedged brooks are Thames' tributaries.

In the parks on the Cherwell, and in the water walk called Mesopotamia, the summer visitor will see beds of water lilies, on which Faber wrote a poem, and which the artist fondly carved on the bosses of the Latin chapel at Christ Church; and along the stream, which encircles Magdalen Meadow, there are many shady refuges from the heat. But it was in a boat, floating under the trees of the Isis, close to Godstow, that in the dreamy weather of the golden afternoon Lewis Carroll told the children the tale of Alice in Wonderland. And the naturalist,

if he sits quiet for a little time, may see not a little of the life of the 'freeborn natives of the air,' as Mr. Warde Fowler tells us in his 'Year with the Birds.' In the earlier summer the side of Shotover shows from a long distance blue with wild hyacinths, 'the bluebells trembling by the forest ways.' But it requires search to find the little blue-veined wild sorrel, the acid of which was once used to flavour our beer. Bagley Wood, now enclosed, used to show white with anemones from hill to river until May.

He will naturally see many chapels and halls, for the colleges have a singular variety in their general likeness, and will survey the whole from the gallery outside the Radcliffe, and see how Oxford is embowered in trees, with the remains of Wychwood Forest to the north and Blenheim not so far away, and the woods of Nuneham down the river, well known to pleasure-seekers at Commemoration time. Nor will he fail to visit New College garden, enclosed by the old bastioned wall, still perfect, with narrow slits in the bastions for the arrow flights that guarded the outer ditch, and the lower garden that was a bowling green; and in St. John's garden he will turn back to admire Laud's library, where they say strange sounds are still heard on wintry nights; and in Worcester quadrangle he will visit the old Benedictine hostels as he goes down to the Gardens. There are other fine gardens, but these three, with Wadham and Trinity, are large enough for flower shows, and for the Freemasons' musical *fête* on the afternoon of Commemoration.

He will of course see Alfred's jewel in the Ashmolean, and the sword sent by Leo X. to Henry VIII.

as Defender of the Faith, and the old picture of the battle of Pavia, and the great magnet, and some Runic tombstones, and Guy Fawkes' lantern. Then there are the illuminated manuscripts and other treasures displayed under glass in the Bodleian. One of the documents contains notes written to and fro between Charles II. and Clarendon at the council table. Even Pepys could not see all Oxford in one morning. The gabled taverns and the shops with their antique signs are gone, but down towards Folly Bridge there is the old many-gabled mansion, called Bishop King's Palace; and there are not a few old houses in the streets as well as in out-of-the-way corners. But there are remains of every kind, from the Norman arches of St. Frideswide's, and the churches of St. Michael's and St. Peter's in the east, through all periods of architecture. The colleges have preserved some old customs, such as that of the boar's head, which is brought in at Queen's in Christmas time.

> The boar's head in hand bear I,
> Bedecked with bays and rosemary.
> And I pray you, masters, merry be.

And the Fellows still receive a needle and thread on New Year's day. The college too is still called to dine by the blowing of a trumpet. And there is the May morning hymn on Magdalen Tower, and the 'stately tower itself containeth a most tuneable and melodious ring of bells.' But Shrovetide cakes and ale have vanished from Brasenose, and St. John's has discontinued the Mid-Lent refreshment of frumenty.

And in the neighbourhood of Oxford how many

places there are worth seeing, if you make it your head-quarters for a time! The view of the place itself from the surrounding hills is striking, from the ascent to Shotover, or from Cumnor Hurst, or from Dr. Arnold's field above Hincksey, whence 'the eye travels down to Oxford's towers.' And it is worth while to see the Norman doorway at the west end of Iffley Church, and the ancient yew in the churchyard; and the one window that remains of Godstow up the river; or Cumnor, whence Amy Robsart was borne in to be buried in the chancel of St. Mary's; or the old church at Dorchester, once the seat of our early bishopric; or Fairford, famous for its old painted glass, with enough of white and light blue and amber to let the daylight through; or Forest Hill, whither Milton came to woo Mary Powell. And when he comes back in the evening, just after nine, the visitor will hear Great Tom ring out 101 times in honour of the old number of students. And should he again wander through the city for a last look, he may be willing to allow that, far or near, he has seldom seen a fairer sight than that

Sweet city with her dreaming spires.

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